

Welcome.

There is a great significance of the ancient writings or rare books of the Sikh religious lore not only for Punjabi Literature but also for the entire medieval Indian literature and the Bhagti movement. Among these books, the Pothees of Goindwal or those of Baba Mohan occupy an important place. Out of these the Pothee of Ahiyapur is one such historical document, as has not been published and displayed to us though this work should have been given immediate attention.

Professor Pritam Singh has shown to us this Pothee of Ahiyapur in detail after studying it in a very scientific method. He has also acquainted us with its importance. He has tried to suggest some important and noticeable conclusions after making a serious study of this work. This work has been accomplished with deep devotion and exemplary diligence which was possible at the hands of only a sensible and expert scholar like Professor Pritam Singh. Taking responsibility for any omission, Professor Pritam Singh has very humbly and respectfully asked for suggestions from the readers and the scholars. This work of his has made a sure addition to the research work of Guru Nanak Studies Department where he is working these days on life fellowship.

It is hoped that the entire Punjabi World will avail itself of this work by Professor pritam Singh.

Guru Nanak Dev University,
Amritsar.
Dated.28.1.1997

Harbhajan Singh
Vice Chancellor.

II

Gratitude.

I am grateful to Him who kept the body of the Editor safe and sound upto the completion of the work of the Pothee. I owe thanks to Dr. Daljit Singh who operated upon the eyes of the Editor to enable them to accomplish such a big task. Thanks are due to the Vice-Chancellor Shri Gurdip Singh Randhawa who endowed the editor with unsolicited emeritus fellowship from his university in order to complete this work. I am grateful to the new Vice-Chancellor Dr. Harbhajan Singh Soch who wrote the words of welcome for this book and issued orders for the quick publication of the manuscript which had been lying 'under publication' for long time. I am thankful to Mrs. Inderjit Kaur and Giani Gurdit Singh whose efforts showed far-sightedness in the preparation of the photographs used for this book. Dr. H. K. Manmohan Singh also deserves my thanks, who gave permission to use the copies of the photos in this book. I feel indebted to Dr. Pyaar Singh whose hand-written copies of the original book have filled in the gaps caused by the non-availability of some photos and whose gentlemanliness and guidance have always stood by the Editor. I am grateful to Baba Manmohan Singh son of Baba Prem Singh of Hoti Mardaan who generously provided the Note-book with details of the two books, manually prepared by his scholar-father. I consider it my duty to thank my friend Dr. Winand M. Calewaert who made his assistance available while residing in Belgium. I am grateful to Dr. Madanjit Kaur who during her term as Head of the Guru Nanak Studies Department accepted this work as fit for publication and inspired me to go on making additions till the date

of publication. I thank also the well-known specialist of handwriting Shri K.S.Puri who gave his undisputable opinion on some disputed leaves. I express gratitude to Dr. J.S. Grewal, Dr. Jaswant Singh Neki, Dr. Gobind Nath RajGuru, Professor Jagjit Singh Tarantarni, Dr. Maan Singh Nirankari, S. Narinder Singh Soch and Dr. Jagjit Singh Saluja who went through the manuscript and exhorted me to soon get it published. In addition I thank all those scholars by whose books I benefited, I am indebted to friends like Dr. Kulwant Singh who graced me with some information or some suggestions through letters or orally. Dr. Rupinder Kaur has obliged me by preparing the list of names while S. Jagjit Singh Walia and his colleagues have earned my gratitude for making this book worth seeing through their professional efficiency. I am grateful to my since-expired life-partner Mrs. Narinder Kaur who smilingly took my all-time concern with the books as her destiny and in the end I am thankful to S. Satpal Singh, the typist whose smiling patience exhausted my habit of getting the papers typed, making corrections and getting them retyped.

2, Preet Nagar,

Pritam Singh,

Lower Mall, Patiala. 13.4.93

Justification for the publication of the book.

This rare Pothee¹ from Ahiyapur, the total volume of which is being exposed for the first time through the present editorial effort has a twin sister as well but unfortunately its public view has remained debarred so far.

As long as these books remained under cover completely, the guesses were no doubt made about them, their number, their compiler, bani available in them and their writers, how Guru Arjan Dev Ji made efforts to procure them and how far he made use of their material in the preparation of his holy collection² but because nobody has had access to them, no scholar was in a position to give a decisive answer to any of the questions. Usually, those who contradicted or corroborated the given opinion either based their arguments on the rough information provided by some earlier Sikh writer or managed their or others' affairs by giving imaginary arguments or anecdotes.

It can be believed that with the coming of the text of this book the proofs will take the place of guesses and the discussion on all the problems connected with the Sikh literature of 16th and 17th century, Punjabi Literature and Bhagti Literature will at once rise to concrete, factual and scientific level from that of pure conjecture.

Only the future will unravel when the twin sister of this book comes out of its wrappings whether satisfactory answers to all the questions are made available or not. But one thing is certain that when one of the two books is exposed in its original form, it will prove to be a blessing for curious minds and that it can be

said with certainty that it will singly remove many misconceptions and misunderstandings,

Being very old, the book has an unlimited significance as a manuscript. As has been suggested, this book will be an extraordinary boon not only for those who enjoy and research the Sikh literature and Punjabi literature but for all national and foreign scholars of medieval and Bhagti literatures. In the ensuing pages it has been attempted to raise and finally settle some important points which have a direct bearing on the book. If these efforts prove decisive it will be my good fortune: but even if they don't, it is hoped that in the future discussions on the Pothees of Goindwal characteristic of self-will will mitigate. This hope of mine alone is the justification for bringing this book into light .

Part I

IV

The Trail of the Pothee.

As is evident from the title, this part recounts the story of search for this book. The first part of this search is concerned with the curiosity for the glimpse of the form of the book and with the knocks at different doors to procure its text. The second part is concerned with the old and new sources indicating the written material preserved in it and their assessment. This portion of the text is expected to throw light on how our historians and scholars have been beating about the bush for want of definite information.

After the portion entitled Trail of the Pothee it has been attempted to study the various facets and details of the Pothee of Ahiyapur and to cast a meaningful glance at its every aspect. During this study many problems have been deliberated upon but the main concern which has ever been the subject of curious look is the inter-relationship of the Pothee and the Aad Beed compiled by Sree Guru Arjan Dev Ji. My conclusion is different from the view universally accepted but because the internal evidence of the book willingly corroborates my point of view, the possibility is that in future the point of view presented by me in the introduction and 'not the old point of view' will be accepted by everybody without contention.

The Pothee of Ahiyapur is being published in two independent volumes. The present book i.e. the introduction is its first volume. The second volume contains its annotated text, including photostat-Copies of the original book. The first Volume

has been divided into five parts: The trail of the Pothee, the journey of the Pothee, the bibliography and the list of names.

1. The Journey to Ahiyapur: For a long time the two above Pothees have been imagined as connected with the names of Goindwal or Baba Mohan. Later on, they have been differentiated as the one from Ahiyapur and the other from Hoti Mardaan: But now for some time the Pothee of Ahiyapur has been identified as the Pothee of Jalandhar and that of Hoti Mardan as the one of Pinjore. The Pothee of Pinjore remained for some time during the post-partition period at Patiala and therefore, was known as the Pothee of Patiala.

The village Ahiyapur is situated at a distance of about one kilometer on the road leading from the bus-stop of Tanda Urmar (District Hoshiarpur) to Miani. At one time Tanda Urmar, Darapur and Ahiyapur were four independent villages situated in one another's vicinity. But now Tanda Urmar and Darapur have taken the form of almost one town but distinct entity of Ahiyapur continues.

The road leading from Ambala to Kalka-Simla passes through the ancient and famous town of Pinjore, next to Panchkula.

During the first half of the fifties while I was wandering to trace the Gurmukhi script I had knocked at the doors of both the book-owners.

When I reached Ahiyapur I was told that the old Bawa Dalip Chand was not available at home. His young son Bawa Gyan Chand was at home, but he refused to show the book without the permission of his father. During conversation he intimated that at

one time the book used to be there at Goindwal in district Amritsar. "Has your father gone out of station?" I questioned. "No sir, he has gone to take a round of the fields and would be coming presently". He placed a cot in the street outside his door for me to sit on. I took my seat there and invited him also to sit along. However, he did not sit and talked to me, while standing. He informed me that every time before showing the book they had to take a bath, that the devotees made an offering as per their faith and that all the members of their family could not decipher the book.

After some time the old man arrived. I stood up and greeted him. When he was told about the purpose of my visit he said, "Sardar Sahib, we are not allowed to show the book to everybody and at all times. Kindly come on the first day of the new month. Then after taking bath, and the service of incense and light we shall put the book on display. You also may see it at that very time." I entreated, " But the younger Baawa Ji was telling that the book could be shown after taking a bath. I, a poor man, will surely make an offering as per my capacity. Some times it becomes difficult to revisit".

But my request could not alter his refusal and I had to return disappointed. Yes, one thing was affirmed that one of the two sisters that set out from Goindwal was safe with the Bhalla dynasty of Ahiyapur.

The time passed on. My desire to see the Pothee was smouldering like the fire buried inside the ashes. When it took the form of a flame the Pothee too had travelled from Ahiyapur to Jalandhar. But my thirst for seeing it was not quenched by its present owner Shri Vinod Kumaar Bhalla or his mother though

before my request they had obliged many gentlemen with the open glimpse of the Pothee.

What a pleasant coincidence that the man who had been repeatedly turned disappointed inspite of his keenness is today performing the duty of editing that Pothee.

2. The sister of the Pothee: I could not see the Pothee even on reaching its place; but in those very days the other sister met me warmly at the place of Baawa Bhagat Singh ji who resided in the street opposite the office of the Municipal Committee, Patiala. This pleasant incident took place as under:

In those days my desire to see the hand-written old Gurmukhi manuscripts used to be very keen because I was engaged in tracing the lineological developments and the stages in the growth of the shape and size of the Gurmukhi alphabet. I knew that Bawa Prem Singh Ji of Hoti had now become a resident of Patiala and was the main descendent of the Bhalla family. One day when I started the conversation regarding the Pothees with him, I came to know that one of the books was available at Patiala itself with one of his relatives Bawa Bhagat Singh. Bawa Ji gave a letter addressed to his dear-one seeing which Bawa Bhagat Singh ji put the book on display in his drawing room. While going inside the house, he said, "You can see the book as long as you wish and when you have had your heart's fill, call me in. I examined the book from end to end in a relaxed manner. I acquainted myself fully with formation of every letter of Gurmukhi used therein and traced the samples of different forms. This information I used as per need in my research paper, 'Gurmukhi Script' which was first published in the June 1958 issue of the Punjabi Duniya, Patiala. Later, this

was included in the book, Punjab (1960) edited by Dr. Mohinder Singh Randhawa. In those days because I was wholeheartedly attending to the historical development of the forms of the letters, my scrutinising attention was not diverted towards the paging system of the Pothee, the sequence of the verses by the Gurus, saints and hermits included in the book and the congruence or incongruence of the text of Sree Guru Granth Sahib and the Pothee. At the most I took the trouble of noting the first lines of the first and the last hymns of every raaga. This editor wasted the available golden opportunity owing to his lack of far-sightedness and experience.

At the time of editing it I needed comparative study and I learnt that the second Pothee had travelled to Pinjore from Patiala along with Bawa Bhagat Singh. Bawa Prem Singh had since expired and, therefore, I took his eldest son Bawa Manmohan Singh ji along and reached Pinjore. Bawa Bhagat Singh ji received us warmly, considering Baawa Manmohan Singh ji his senior. The guests were very lovingly served lunch and tea. Then we, all the three, reached the separate apartment reserved for the Pothee. I seated myself behind the book and recited the random hymn.

After some time Bawa Bhagat Singh accompanied by Bawa Manmohan Singh went out to discuss their mutual weal and woe. Before going out he said to me, "We put the Pothee to rest rather early. Therefore, today you may note down any thing special; you can have a longer session on some other day by coming earlier. You have brought the Baawa ji along, therefore, you are at liberty to see the Pothee as long as you like."

At the time of lunch I reminded Baawa Bhagat Singh of the letter of Baawa Prem Singh and examination of the Pothee in connection with my research pertaining to the Gurmukhi script. This added to our mutual familiarity. Having got the permission to examine the Pothee I was intellectually feeling very relaxed. As such, I did not pay any particular attention to my intended investigation and after turning the leaves of the book, soon I joined the old pair to make them three from two.

The next time when I set out from Patiala for Pinjore fully prepared for investigation I was feeling myself very much at ease. I had taken along with me some details of the Pothee of Ahiyapur and had made a list of the problems on a separate sheet, which I wanted to solve by comparing the text with that of the book from Pinjore. In addition, I had blank papers and tracing papers in my bag. The bag also contained two or three packing of biscuits besides a small paper packet of the mango juice. I had thought that I would be able to complete my main task in a single long sitting and that I would be required to revisit when the permission to get the photos of the book is granted. But when I set my foot in the drawing room of Bawa ji I found it completely changed. A picture of Bawa Bhagat Singh carried a garland of slightly withered flowers. I realised that Bawa ji had expired. There was no proper atmosphere for discussing the Pothee. Therefore, I offered my condolences and returned to Patiala with a mournful face.

Thereafter, I presented myself there on three full moon days. During one visit I was accompanied by Bawa Manmohan Singh also. In spite of all this, though I had a distant view of the book I was not fortunate enough to touch it.

3. A clue about the existence of the third and fourth sisters.

Late Bawa Bhagat Singh intimated that in addition to the two available Pothees there was another, their third sister, which their ancestors had given away in dowry to one of their daughters. She had been married in some family at Phagwara. "This legend had come down to us from our ancestors. But if you ask who those people were and in which locality they lived we will not be able to tell you any thing."

I asked two elderly women of the family owning the Pothee at Patiala about this account, through lip tradition, and they also confirmed it. So I roamed the streets of old Phagwara in search of Bedi, Sodhi, Bhalla and other Khatri families. Thus inspite of many rewarding experiences in search of the Pothees I did not succeed in tracing the third Pothee.

Long time back once while conversing Giani Gurdit Singh Ji expressed an idea that these books were not three sisters but four and that the fourth contained only vaars. Now, after scanning and scrutinising, it seems that their number was not fewer then four; it may be larger than that. But I do not want to enter into any big controversy about the number of these books, since I consider it fortunate that at least two books are available in their full form. Out of these I am presenting to the intellectual world, the book to which I got access, in printed form , as it is, so that every scholar is enabled to complete and accept my conclusions or contrast and reject them.

4. Reaching the Pothee:

Before the partition of the country I had a colleague named S. Lakhbir Singh at the Sikh National College, Lahore. After 1947

for a long time I remained out of contact with him. Suddenly in the September, 1982 Issue of Monthly Magazine 'Gyaan Amrit' edited by Dr. Maan Singh Nirankaari, I saw the first instalment of a series of articles under the title of 'Mohan Potheean'. The subject of the article attracted my attention. I did not have in my mind the name of any Lakhbir Singh as a specialist of this field though Nirankaari Ji had used words like 'a researcher with unusual devotion' to introduce him. Still I do not know why the image of my old friend Professor Lakhbir Singh rose on the horizon of my mind, as the writer of the series of these articles. This article was serialised continuously for five months i.e. up to the issue of January, 1983. I keenly awaited, studied and preserved every instalment of the article. When I say the following lines in the first instalment I was beside myself with astonishment: " By chance with the grace of somebody at the Patiala University I came across, during those days, photo copies of the first Pothee which I studied with a calm satisfaction. It is not proper to discuss in detail these photo copies because they are connected with a secret matter" (page 21).

The amazing thing was that coming from outside to Patiala, Lakhbir Singh, who-so-ever he was, (later Professor Lakhbir Singh came to my residence to see me and I learnt that those articles had been written by none else than himself) had come to know that photo copy of the first Pothee of Goindwal was available at the Punjabi University, Patiala and that with his efforts he had managed to get access to it and succeeded in studying it to his heart's content. His statement also made it clear that there was some mysterious complication behind his access to and use of this manuscript, which he did not deem proper to unravel.

The background of my amazement was that when I was a professor at the Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar I had casually heard that the Punjabi University had succeeded in getting the photos of the Pothee of Goindwal. But at that time I was so engrossed in the work in hand that my curiosity could not afford to take up a completely new assignment. But when I shifted to my own house at Patiala on retirement, my dormant curiosity started moving afresh and I began taking rounds of the University. I scrambled through the University Library, Reference Library, Guru Granth Sahib Studies Department (which has now become Punjabi Language Development Department, Museum in short all the departments having nearby or distant relationship and made enquiries from the experts in the field, but nobody gave any clue regarding existence of the original or the copy of any Pothee from Goindwal at the University.

At length I presumed that either the existence of the Pothee in any form at the Punjabi University was a pure rumour or that the Scholars of the University were acting in unanimity in the comprehensive intrigue to keep the outsiders away from this treasure. My failure strangled my keenness and I stopped my pursuit of the photo copies. But in my heart of hearts I felt that if this rare article had been available at the University I would have got a clue from somewhere but there was complete desolation. On the other side Lakhbir Singh of Gyan Amrit was crying that he had seen the photo copies of one Pothee at this University and that he had taken notes also. So, my investigation took a new turn.

During those days I happened to see an English Book 'Bhagat Naam Dev in Guru Granth Sahib' written by Dr. Nirbhai Singh (Published by Punjabi University, Patiala in 1981)

at an exhibition of the Publications of the University held at Ludhiana. The cover of that book carried a photo of a shabad by Bhagat Ji from the Pothee of Goindwal. This discovery defined the target of my research. At least this thing was confirmed that the news regarding the photo- copies was not baseless and was true and that at least one person Dr. Nirbhai Singh could lead to the lost end. After another great round of investigation I got the clue that the leaves of the book had come to Dr. Nirbhai Singh from the Punjabi Reference Library. It is possible that at that time there may not have been in the Reference Library, a single official who should be in the know of the existence of the book there or its having been issued. That is why whenever I made an enquiry the reply was that they did not have any manual, Xerox or photo-copy of any book from Goindwal. But when one end of the knot on the head of a package gets loosened, the other three ends do not take long to get loose.

I came to know that Mr. Inderjeet Kaur Sandhu (Vice Chancellor of the Punjabi University, Patiala from 1975 to 1977), and her life-partner Gyani Gurdit Singh Ji who is a great hunter of written manuscripts had succeeded in acquiring the photos of the Pothee through Government pressure. A copy of those photos had been placed in the University Library. The world of scholarship will always remember this act of kindness by this fortunate couple.

I moved from Dr.Nirbhai Singh to Dr.Wazir Singh, the Head of the Religious Studies Department, Dr.Balbir Kaur, the Head of Sree Guru Granth Sahib Studies Department, the Librarian of the University, the Registrar S. Tirath Singh, Vice-Chancellor S. Bhagat Singh, Head of the Punjabi Department, Dr. Dalip Kaur Tiwana, Professor Harminder Singh Kohli of

Encyclopedia Department, S.Haakam Singh of the Reference Library, Photographer S. Surjit Singh and the new Vice-Chancellor Dr. H. K. Manmohan Singh. If I give a complete list of the University doors which I had to knock at many a time, the reader will feel lost in the complexities of endless red-tapism as if he had been left in the Imaambaara of Lucknow without a guide.

If only by reading the list the reader can come to this pass what would be the condition of the poor writer who had been roaming from pillar to post for the sake of the Pothee? But blessed was this going around because it led to pleasant rewards. In the end I was able to reach the photo-copies of the leaves of the book in a random condition (later it took me six months to arrange these leaves). The top-most attainment was that I got permission to have photo-copies of these leaves as well as use them. By giving this permission the scholarly Vice-Chancellor Dr.H.K.Manmohan Singh not only helped me in realising my long-cherished dream but also opened the closed door of a rare treasure of the entire religion, philosophy, literature, script and culture of the Sikhs, the Punjab and the medieval India. All the scholars of this field should be, like me , grateful to him.

Here, it will be relevant to mention that at this very time Professor Pyar Singh of the Guru Nanak Dev University was roaming in search of these books in connection with his book 'Gaatha Sree Aad Granth' He had attained nearness to the present owner of the Pothee of Ahiyapur, Shri Vinod Kumar Bhalla and also got permission to make a hand written copy of the book. When he learnt that I too was working on these

Pothees he not only withdrew in my favour but also handed over to me the gains of his long search. I have not the slightest hesitation in admitting that if the material from him had not been in my possession it would have been very difficult for me to fill in many gaps in the photos of the Pothee. I am grateful to Dr. Pyar Singh for this generous cooperation which continued till the conclusion of the book in its final form.

5. The Search Plan of Guru Nanak Dev University:

The syndicate of the Guru Nanak Dev University agreed vide para 77 of its proceedings in the session held on 23.10.1990 to assign the editing of this book to the writer of these lines and allowed a duration of two years to complete this work. This writer was told that the love of learning of the Vice Chancellor of the University Dr. Gurdip Singh Randhawa and of the former Head of the Guru Nanak Studies Department was working behind this offer. To accomplish this task this editor had to work with complete concentration and he got many opportunities to avail himself of the scholarship of many native and foreign specialists. It is gratifying that the assignment has been accomplished within the allotted time. Then Head of the Guru Nanak Studies Department and her Advisors happened to like my research on the various aspects of the book and in 1992 I handed over this manuscript to the University with the confidence that this historical treasure which remained wrapped in sheets would now be available to the scholars in its printed form. I am sorry that the realization of this dream of mine has taken a long time of six years.

V

The mention of Pothee/Pothees by Ancients.

Before giving detailed Knowledge about the Pothee, it is necessary to assess the information collected so far on this subject, to meet the demand of the modern technique of research.

Though one gets detailed or brief information regarding the Pothees of Goindwal in the ancient Sikh Literature, it is strange that so far not even a single standard allusion has come to light, which may indicate for certain the personal knowledge of the allusion-maker regarding the internal material of Pothee or Pothees. Any historian or writer who has made a mention of them has written in the context of editing and compilation of the Aad Beed by Guru Arjan Dev Ji. When the Guru Sahib is shown to be looking for the prior collections of Bani he is mentioned as giving priority to the acquisition of the Pothee of Goindwal.

Every writer seems to be presuming that before going on a spree to collect Gurbani, Guru Arjan Dev Ji was aware of the existence of the Pothees of Goindwal, in a direct or indirect way.

Leaving aside one writer Kesar Singh Chhibbar, all other references indicate that Guru Arjan Dev Ji acquired these Pothees from Baba Mohan Ji, son of Guru Amar Daas Ji by singing a hymn 'Mohan Tere Ooche Mandar Mahal Aparā³ in raag Gaudi, at his door. Every writer makes the reader believe that Guru Arjan Dev Ji fully benefited by these Pothees in the preparation of Aad Beed. But firstly nobody has hinted at the quantity and nature of this benefit and secondly if anybody has given a partial hint it is completely incorrect. It is obvious that no allusion-maker has any standard knowledge on the subject.

We know that history has appreciatively approved of the efforts of Guru Arjan Dev Ji to compile, to standardise the text and edit the Gurbani because the Aad Beed with a slight addition has won the honour of becoming the present day Sree Guru Granth Sahib. That is why understanding the mode of compilation and editing adopted by Guru Sahib is equal to completing the initial and so-far incomplete chapters of the history of Sree Guru Granth Sahib. Now when one Pothee of Goindwal has made a public appearance, it is natural for the scholars with logical tendencies to feel vexed at accepting as settled on the basis of unfounded statements of the ancient writers the question of the alleged contribution of these Pothees to the effort of Guru Arjan Dev.

It is essential to compare of these Pothees from several perspectives so that this important question is settled satisfactorily and by using a scientific technique but before starting that work we should know for certain as to how much and what type of information is provided to us by our historical resources. According to chronological order the first allusion worth mentioning is available in Bansaawali Naama.

1. Bansaawali Naama.

"Bansaawali Naama Daasan Paatshaahiyan Ka" by Shri Kesar Singh Chhibbar (Date of Birth approximately, Sammat 1699 Bikrami and date of death not known) was written in Sammat 1826. Bikrami/1769 A.D. The writer says:

I composed this book with due deliberation

I have talked about my Satgur

It is Sammat 1826 Bikrami

Which is equivalent to the year 1184

Hijri (559) (page 238)

This text to this book was first published in the second issue of 1972 of the Parkh, the magazine of Punjab University, Chandigarh. The Editor of this Issue was Dr.Rattan Singh Jaggi. Here the page numbers given in brackets against the quotations are the page numbers of the above Issue of the Parkh.

According to the writer of the Bansaawali Naama. Guru Amar Daas Ji had two sons-Baba Nand and Baba Mohri. The name of the son of Baba Nand was Baba Mohan Ji. Guru Arjan Dev Ji was deeply attached to Baba Mohan Ji:

Guru Arjan Dev Ji had great affection for Mohan. He was his maternal cousin and was a devotee of the Saints (Page 42)

Whether Mohan Ji or some other Bhalla descendant possessed any Pothee or Pothees which Guru Arjan Dev Ji essentially needed for the fulfilment of his determination to compile this work does not make a direct or indirect reference. It does make a mention of Guru Sahib's composing a lot of Bani. In this connection there is also a special mention of Guru Sahib's composing a hymn in honour of his pal Baba Mohan Ji; but composing or singing of this hymn has not been related to the bringing of Pothees from Baba Mohan Ji:

The Sahib was granted a boon by mother Sarda

Bhawani;

The Sahib started uttering the Bani from his lips;

He made four writers sit with him;

They went on writing the utterances of the Sahib [22]

One day Mohan Ji was sitting near the Sahib;

They were discussing and exchanging their views on
God;

The two brothers were sitting in the court;
Guru Arjan Dev Ji and Mohan Ji had deep mutual
affection I23I

He (Guru Arjan) composed a verse in raag gaudi;
And dedicated it to Mohan I24I

"Lofty is your house and matchless your abode,
Mohan your doors are as dignified as those of the temples
of the Saints."

The very humble Nanak depends upon Him who grants
salvation to the entire world I4I28I

The Sahib uttered these words very affectionately;
He abandoned his real brothers and showed love to

Mohan Ji (Page 44-45)

Not only here, but in no other part of the book as a
background for the composition of the above hymn in Gaudi
Raag or in any other context, a desire being cherished for the
acquisition of the Pothees of Goindwal has been shown. Nor has
Guru Sahib been shown any where as availing himself of the
Pothees procured from any outsider to complete the Aad Beed.
It is true that on hearing the unauthenticated poetry of the
Meenas the Guru Sahib has been shown as getting conscious
for the preservation of the true bani:

Meharwaan, son of Prithia indulges in versification;
He studies Persian, Hindi and Sanskrit beside
Gurmukhi;

He has also composed a lot of bani;
And used the word Nanak in the last line I87I

The singers have begun singing the hymns of Meenas;

They are trying to set up another big court of Guruship;

The Meenas have also made a Granth;

They have incorporated the poetry of the four Gurus
1881 (Page 50)

Some Sikh, here, sang a hymn composed by Meharwaan;

Guru Arjan Dev Ji happened to hear the song 1921

He said to Bhai GurDaas to sift the true bani;

As the Meenas were trying to mix up;

So, the Sahib went on reciting the bani;

And so Bhai GurDaas collected all. 1931 (page 51).

No other information is available in the Bansawali Naama regarding the collection of Gurbani by Guru Arjan Dev except that contained in the above quotations.

2. Mehima Prakash.

The next noticeable book is Mahima Prakash and its writer was Baba Sarup Daas Bhalla. This book was written in Sammat 1833 Bikrami/1776 A.D. The writer says:

It is Bikrami year of Eighteen Hundred Thirty-three;

Satgur blessed Sarup Daas with Mahima Prakash
1261 (page 7)

This voluminous book has been published in two parts by the Bhasha Vibhag, Punjab, Patiala. The first part had been edited in the year 1970 by Shamsheer Singh Ashok and Gobind Singh Lamba under the title Guru Nanak Mahima i.e. Mahima Parkash and the second part was edited in the year 1971 A.D. by Gobind

Singh Lamba and Khazan Singh under the name Mahima Prakash. The Page numbers given in brackets against the quotations are from this second part.

According to the information given in this book Guru Amar Daas had two sons - the elder one was Baba Mohri and the younger one was Baba Mohan. Like Kesar Singh Chhibbar, Sarup Daas mentions Baba Mohan Ji as the son of Guru Amar Daas Ji and not as his grandson. Further, Mohri Ji had three sons namely Baba Arth Mall, Baba Anand Purkh and Baba Arjani Ji. Baba Mohan Ji had only one son whose name is mentioned as Sansram.

Sarup Daas has informed that this Sansraam, used to write the verses of his grandfather Sree Guru Amar Daas Ji with great devotion:

He used to write the Bani of Satgur:

Only he writes who is imbued with faith;

He used to eat from the same plate as the

Sat Guru Ji used;

All powers of miracles were bestowed upon him

by the Sat Guru :15: (page 208).

The poet tells in his Saakhi Sree Granth Ji Ke Misl Ki

(the story of the volume of Sree Granth Ji) that Guru Arjan

Dev Ji:

Thought that the Panth had been revealed to the world

And therefore the Granth has now to be compiled

:2: (page 358)

So, Guru Sahib called in Bhai GurDaas and ordered him to collect true bani of Bhagats. He also warned him:

He ordered Bhai GurDaas to collect all the bani

Scan the entire bani of the Bhagats

Retain the true one and reject what is not genuine :3:

Then GurDaas entreated That all the Pothees were with

Sansraam(page 358)

..

First of all take possession of those Pothees

Then collect the other bani

And then the Granth will be compiled (page 359)

The Guru Sahib sends his messenger to Sansraam with the instructions :

Be kind enough to hand over all the Pothees

GurDaas may, then, compile the Granth:6: (page 359)

The Messenger returns disappointed from Sansraam.

Then the Satgur who was intelligent and sagacious

Composed a verse in praise of Mohan

He took along Satta the rabaab-player

All other pious disciples came with folded hands:9:

(page 359)

The entire congregation sings the verse, "O Mohan, your house is lofty and our mansion is matchless." Mohan Ji wants to know the motive of the visit and Guru Sahib replies :

He said that God had revealed Himself and for the

sake of religious propagation

Panth and Granth have to be revealed :11:

Kindly take the Pothees from Sansram

After holding my hand do not let me down (page 361)

When he came to know of the purpose:

Mohan laughed and called in Sansraam

He got the Pothees handed over to Guru Arjan Dev

The other bani wherever it was

Was fetched from all the places :131: (page 361)

"All the Pothees were procured. The number of the Pothees has not been intimated. The duty of preparing the Aad Beed was assigned to Bhai GurDaas."

The pious man went on reading the Gurbani and writing

He rejected many verses:15: (page 362)

The task of retaining the true bani and rejecting the false one was done by GurDaas and the Guru Sahib expressed amazement at Bhai Ji's skill in this respect. Thereupon Bhai Ji submitted" Just as a wife recognises the voice of her husband while many persons are talking in the same way, I automatically recognise the true bani by its tone and tenor. At last, The Granth was written and prepared It was a treasure of meditation and knowledge :20: (page 362)

In addition to the above information of Mahima Parkash also provides some information of our concern in the anecdote No.13 (page 369-371). This anecdote shows Bhai GurDaas somewhat confused about the sources of the bani by the Bhagats - perhaps Guru Sahib Himself might be composing, using the name of the Bhagats at the end and dictating from behind the curtain. To remove his doubt the Guru Sahib bids farewell to the Saints sitting behind the scene and instructs Bhai GurDaas to see them off at some distance. Sarup Daas has mentioned the name of Meera Baayee among this assembly of Bhagats.

The following facts come to light from the information provided above by Sarup Daas:

- (a) Guru Arjan Dev Ji learnt from Bhai GurDaas that all the Pothees of the bani were available with Sansram son of Guru Amar Daas's younger son Baba Mohan Ji.
- (b) Nothing is known about the number of the Pothees.
- (c) Sansram used to write the bani of Guru Amar Daas Ji who was his grandfather. As a hint it can be concluded that the collection of bani in search of which Sree Guru Arjan Dev Ji had approached Baba Mohan had not been bequeathed to Baba Mohan Ji or Baba Sansraam Ji.
- (d) Guru Arjan Dev Ji too had not inherited any Pothee and that is why he was using Sansram's compilation and the bani collected from here and there as the basis for the new compilation of the bani.
- (e) In the poetry collected, there was some false bani. It means that some unauthorised people had started composing poetry under the name of Nanak. From this collection of bani the false one was rejected and the true one was included in the new

compilation. The duty of differentiation was performed by Bhai GurDaas.

(f) In the bani of the Bhagats, the Guru Sahib did not benefit from the Pothee because the Bhagats had themselves dictated their compositions.

The poet has not told anything about the poets included in the collection of Sansraam and about the quantity of their verse. On the basis of the information given by Sarup Daas regarding collection of bani from Goindwal it can no way be concluded that the poet had ever seen inside the Pothees of Goindwal

3. "Sikhaan Di Bhagat Maal"

'Sikhaan di Bhagat Maal' or 'Bhagat Ratnaawali' is a mere detail of the Sikhs mentioned in the eleventh vaar by Bhai GurDaas. In some of the manuscripts it has been shown to be the writing of Bhai Mani Singh.

The credit for publishing this book edited in 191'2 A.D. goes to Bhai veer Singh. Its publisher was the Khalsa Samachar. For the work in hand I have used the fourth edition of the book which was brought out in 1966.

The book 'Bhagat Maal' does not give the Sammat of its composition; but according to the new research this book seems to have been written in a year between 1780 and 1790⁴.

In the one hundred fourth anecdote of this book is available some information concerning our context. According to this anecdote a

group of chosen Sikhs goes to Guru Arjan Dev Ji with a complaint that:

" Prithi Mal, Mahadeo and other Sodhis have composed bani using the name of Guru Nanak at the end. Hearing their composition vanity and cleverness raise their heads in the mind. Thereupon the Guru said, "Bhai GurDaas presently the sikhs know but in future those who succeed will not be able to distinguish the compositions of the Guru from those written by the outsiders. Therefore, it is necessary to collect all bani and prepare volume namely Granth Ji. Also the bani should be written in simple Gurmukhi letters so that everyone may easily see and understand.

Consequently, all the banis were collected in a room and Bhai GurDaas was instructed to bring Pothees from Mohan. Bhai GurDaas replied respectfully that Mohan Ji did not give him the Pothees and that the Guru himself must go to fetch them. Then the Guru himself went there. When Mohan heard about it he shut himself into the attic and sat there. Thereupon the Guru sat below the attic and composed a hymn in a raag.

"Gaudi by the Fifth Guru".

O Mohan, lofty is your house and matchless the abode.

I get all solace by seeing you||| When the first stanza was sung Mohan opened the attic; when the second stanza was sung Mohan opened the door of the staircase below. When the third stanza was sung he got up and greeted the Guru. When the fourth stanza was sung he brought the Pothees and fell at Guru Ji's feet. The Sahib then collected all the Pothees and handed them over to Bhai GurDaas. The latter wrote the Granth in

Gurmukhi script and all the Bhagats including Kabir etc. presented themselves to Bhai GurDaas saying "our bani also may be included for authentication." Bhai GurDaas made a submission to Guru Ji who instructed that new bani from their lips might be heard and included in the Granth to be concluded (pages 149-151)

This long statement shows that the writer accepts the availability of some Pothees of bani with Baba Mohan but now how many Pothees these were, what they contained and what material from them the Guru Ji accepted the writer has only one answer: "I do not know any thing more than this".

The essence of "Sikhaan Di Bhagat Maal" is as under:

- (A) The contribution of Sansraam in the matter of Pothees is equal to zero.
- (B) Before Guru Arjan Dev Ji, nobody had gone as his messenger to fetch the Pothees from Baba Mohan.
- (C) The hymn, "O Mohan, lofty is your house" was not composed in praise of Baba Mohan ji. Only an already composed hymn was sung.
- (D) Baba Mohan's willingness to hand over the Pothees has been shown as increasing with the singing of every stanza of the hymn.
- (E) The Bani of the Bhagats had been taken direct from Bhagats and not from the Pothees.

4. Gur Bilas Chheveen Paatshahi.

The next worth-mentioning book is Gur Bilas Chheveen Paatshaah (1970 Patiala, Bhasha Vibhag, Punjab). This book contains the life-sketch of Guru Har Gobind Sahib. The poet has not mentioned anywhere in this book his own name but he intimates that this account had been heard by Bhai Bhagat Singh at Nanaksar from Bhai Mani Singh, From there, it reached Dharam Singh the poet's teacher, and having heard from his teacher he versified it.

Some researchers have written Sohan⁵ as the name of the poet. There is a lot of controversy about the date of writing of this book. The poet says that he prepared his book in 1775 Bikrami (1718 A.D.) :

Seventeen centuries and seventy five years.

have passed, you may know

For your information, it is the month of Sawan and 21 days has passed |4| (page 535)

But in its lithographic edition published in 1944 Bikrami /1887 A.D. on the outer side of the last leaf there is an advertisement by the publisher and therein the year of writing is given as Sammat 1800 Bikrami (1743 A.D) Bhai Kahan Singh has claimed in his book "Guru Mahima Ratnawali" that GurBilas "had been started in Sammat 1890 and concluded in Sammat 1900 but the book itself shows Sammat 1775 as the year of preparation"⁶. Bhai Sahib has also written that Gur Bilas "is a joint writing of Bhai Gurmukh Singh and Bhai Darbara Singh Chaukiwala". Bhai Sahib has not mentioned his source for these pieces of information. Dr. Pyar Singh, however, has written on

the basis of internal evidences that the book should have been prepared any time between 1834 and 1844⁷.

As regard the context in which we are referring to this book, the writer of these lines has not felt obliged to carry out independent research in respect of the date of writing and therefore the old account is being continued further.

The whole fourth chapter of the Bilas is dedicated to the preparation of the Aad Beed by Guru Arjan Dev Ji.

At present we have before us a copy of the edition published by the Bhasha Vibhag, Punjab. The figures given in brackets against the quotations indicate the page numbers of this edition. The essence of material given in the fourth chapter is as under:

A Sikh comes to Guru Arjan Dev Ji with a complaint that 'it has become difficult to distinguish the Gurbani from the false bani.' 'The Guru must do some thing about it', he argued. The Guru called Bhai GurDaas and said :

"Collect complete Gurbani and after due correction a Granth of the entire Gurbani may be prepared (page 35)"

Then he himself intimates that at Goindwal:

"The sons of Guru Amar Daas namely Mohan and
Mohri reside.

The one whose name is Mohan lives in an attic
The Pothees containing the writings of the first four
Gurus are with him

Make some efforts to fetch those Pothees here.

Bhai GurDaas said that he himself would go |7|(page 35)

Bhai Ji gets a command to go to Goindwal but there he does not succeed. Thereupon Bhai Budha Ji goes and when Baba Mohan Ji does not heed the request of Baba Budha Ji, the latter digs the foundation of the door and enters the attic. Mohan Ji even then does not come out of trance and Baba Mohri, the brother of Mohan Ji also reaches there but Baba Budha Ji has to return disappointed.

At length Guru Arjan Dev himself goes there. First he takes a bath in the cistern got built by Guru Amar Daas Ji where he is able to see Guru Amar Daas Ji in his own incarnation :

Guru Amar Daas said that Mohan was a sweet-tongued person

He would fall at his feet and his desire would be fulfilled [7] (page 36)

Below Baba Mohan's attic, Guru Sahib sings his own hymn written in praise of Mohan :

When Baba Mohan heard these sentences from Guru Arjun he felt delighted. Taking the Pothees in his hands the resident of the attic set out.

He handed over the Pothees to Guru Ji and paid obeisance to him

The Guru Sahib uplifted Baba Mohan's head and said that it did not behove him[30|38).

At this Baba Mohan Ji starts recounting the past incidents-how he revolted at the time of endowment of Guruship and how Mohri Ji fell at his feet. Later on when he apologised,his father felt pleased and said:

"Listen to me, my son; I am very pleased
You keep these Pothees with you and
they will cleanse you of all sins
when the son of Ram Daas comes to take
the Pothees from you
He will exonerate you of all sins |37|

Dohira.. My father ordered me to give
these Pothees to him Thereafter
touch his feet and he will protect you|38|
I have been safe-guarding the Pothees and
now the time has come
Kindly allow me to touch your feet and forgive
me my mistakes|39|(page 38-39)

At the time of his return Mohri Ji wanted to arrange a
palanquin for his journey but the Guru refused to sit as an equal
to the Pothees:

These represent the four Gurus and it will be a great
disrespect.

The proper thing is that I should walk with them bare-
foot|75| 43)

There is a clear hint of the existence of bani of the four
Gurus in the Pothees. The Guru reaches Amritsar via Khadoor.
Reaching there he tells Bhai GurDaas:

Listen attentively, Bhai GurDaas. Now I will
create the truth that will grant salvation
to every body

On the basis of these Pothees I will prepare
a Granth and any body who sees it
Will be free from the cycle of death and
birth and will be reminded of the bani
at the last moment (195|55)

Chopai-look for some appropriate solitude

Where I should sit and dictate the beed|(55)

Then Bhai Ji made a request to the Guru Sahib That first
of all the Guru Sahib himself should open and see the
Pothee |224|(page 58)

Then, he came near the Guru Ji

He made an entreaty to the sweet-tongued Guru

Then taking permission of Guru Ji

He sat near him

Then he paid obeisance to the Pothees

And started sifting the bani

As far as possible the Guru Ji gave directions

And Bhai Ji went on writing as directed (page 59)

In the ensuing lines the poet has shown Bhai GurDaas
having the same doubt about the source of Bhagat Bani as we
have seen In Mahima Prakash. After counting the names of
fifteen Bhagats the poet gives some more names:

He recounted the names of fifteen Bhagats

Listen to more and be gratified

Samman, Musan and Jamal

All the four massaged his feet and

felt delighted (page 61)

There is only this much material of our concern. With slight differences of detail the anonymous poet of this book has made Mahima Prakash and Bhagat Ratnawali the bases of his information. The new things said by him are as under:

(a) Baba Mohan Ji was the elder son of Guru Amar Daas Ji.

(b) Baba Mohan Ji had preserved at Goindwal, the banis of the four Gurus in different collections.

If the poet had cast a glance at the Pothees of Goindwal he would have known that the bani of Guru Ram Daas Ji had not been preserved in them. Nor did these Pothees contain the banis of the various Gurus differently. Therefore, we can assert without any fear of contradiction that the poet was completely unaware of the internal text material of the Pothees and its use by Guru Arjan, and as such his evidence is not trust-worthy.

5. Sree Gur Pratap Sooraj Granth .

Gur Pratap Sooraj by Bhai Santokh Singh (Sammatt 1845/1788 A.D. to Sammat 1900/1843 A.D.) was completed in Sammat 1900/1843 A.D. a few months before the poet's death.

Bhai Veer Singh Ji has edited it with annotations in thirteen volumes; its first part is named Sree Guru Nanak Prakash and the second part is named Gur Pratap Sooraj. The introductory volume is in addition⁸.

The story of the preparation of the Aad Beed by Guru Arjan Dev Ji as narrated by Santokh Singh is not much different from the one recounted by the earlier writers. The only difference is that he is sitting at home in his mood and tries to give a colouring of original research by making some additions to and

subtractions from the information available regarding the Pothees of Goindwal. For example, he knew that somebody had earlier written about the availability of the writings of the first four Gurus in four volumes at Goindwal.

Without carrying out any research he adds a new facet to the available information - that Baba Mohan Ji had collected the contents of the four volumes in one volume:

"Mohan is now living in complete tranquility

He compiled the bani of all the four Gurus in a single volume|16| (page 2046).

Bhai GurDaas Ji and Baba Buddha Ji return disappointed from Baba Mohan Ji. Then Guru Arjan Dev Ji himself goes to Goindwal where he gets a spiritual glance of Guru Amar Daas Ji. He himself suggests to him to praise Baba Mohan Ji:

"Shower praises on Mohan Ji and get the Pothees
Become virtuous, make effort and compile the Granth"

|13|(2051)

Guru Sahib sits on the floor in the street below the attic of Mohan Ji and sings in Gaudi raag the hymn "Mohan your house is lofty and your residence matchless". After the singing of 3rd stanza Mohan Ji comes down with the Pothees and says:

Listen son, I am pleased.

Now speak and have your desire fulfilled.

The hymns of all the SatGurus are a treasure

which I have preserved with me|30|

Guru Ram Daas was knowledgeable and pleasure-giving.

He wanted that the entire bani should be compiled into a
single beed

He wanted that the banni should be searched

None but you can fulfil that need [30]

I would not have given these Pothees even to the greatest:

I am giving to him who comes and meets affectionately
(page 2057)

Guru Sahib is in receipt of the Pothees. In gratitude towards his Maternal Uncle Mohan Ji who calls him 'son' Guru Sahib says :

'O Sree Mohan, you are great and gracious

you have complied the bani into a single volume[41] (2058)

Bhai Santokh Singh corroborates the statements of the earlier historians and makes only the addition from his side that Baba Mohan Ji had compiled the entire bani into a single volume (He possessed all the hymns i.e. bani of the four Gurus, 2046)

The writing of Bhai Ji automatically leads to the conclusion that the collection of bani as was preserved by Baba Mohan Ji in the Pothees was not available with any other person and Guru Arjan Dev Ji had fully benefited by this collection in the compilation of his own beed.

What was the number of the Pothees? The great Granth of Bhai Sahib is not clear regarding the answer to this question. Had Guru Arjan Dev Ji brought one big volume or four different Pothees?

After the study of the Gur Pratap Sooraj the reader will undoubtedly arrive at the conclusion that the entire bani of Guru Ram Daas Ji had reached Baba Mohan Ji. But why did it not reach his own son when the fourth Guru Sahib had appointed his son his successor and when in the Aad Beed prepared by his own son the information given in the beginning⁹ "the copy of the

writing of the Great Guru Ram Daas clarifies that he had received the writings of Guru Ram Daas In his own hand-writing? It is pity that self-contradiction inherent in this question has not attracted the attention of the historian inside the Bhai Sahib and he preferred to follow in the rut of earlier writers. Which of the above concepts of Bhai Santokh Singh and earlier historians is correct and which of them is incorrect, will be decided in the few ensuing pages. But this can be asserted without any fear of contradiction that like others the excellent Poet Bhai Sahib Bhai Santokh Singh had not seen the Pothees of Goindwal.

VI

A mention of the Pothee/Pothees
by the Modern Writers.

In the few past pages we have tried to give in detail the information regarding Pothee/Pothees of Goindwal by some well-known sources of Sikh history. Now we will examine the statements of those Sikh scholars and intellectuals of the twentieth century who have made a respectable contribution to the field of research and interpretation of Sikh literature and religion. Though this list is quite long, yet here, as a sample, we shall see only the references by the top-most scholars like Kahan Singh Nabha, Bhai Veer Singh, S. G. B. Singh, Bhai Jodh Singh and Professor Teja Singh.

1. Bhai Kahan Singh.

Bhai Kahan Singh(1861-1938) has been the top-most Sikh scholar of the first four decades of the twentieth century.

His references to the Pothees are available in the following entries of Gur Shabad Ratnakar Mahaan Kosh (1960 Patiala, second edition, Language Department, Punjab): sansraam (page 177), Goindwal (page 320) and Mohan page 746). According to the information available in these entries:

The Pothees of Gurbani which Guru Arjan Dev Ji had brought from Baba Mohan at the time of compilation of Guru Granth Sahib (Aad Beed) had been written by Mohan Ji's son. They are two in number. One Pothee, the priest of the sacred place Manji Sahib situated in the bazar of Goindwal had given to his brother at Ahiyapur and the second one is with himself. The palanquin in which Pothees were carried to Amritsar and brought back is lying preserved at a place called Haveli Sahib in Goindwal. Guru Arjan Dev Sahib carried these Pothees to Amritsar in Sammat 1660.

If Sammat given by Bhai Kahan Singh Ji is accepted, it implies that the Pothees had come into existence before the year 1603 A.D. The above information also indicates that Bhai Kahan Singh Ji had some knowledge of the historical and geographical situation of the Pothees but what was contained in them and what material had been used or had not been used out of them by Guru Arjan Dev Ji-Bhai Sahib had no particular knowledge of these aspects; otherwise Bhai Sahib would not have hesitated to use that knowledge in his books. This easily leads to the conclusion also that Bhai Sahib had not himself seen or observed the Pothees

2. Bhai Veer Singh.

Bhai Veer Singh (1872-1957) has been a great Scholar of the Sikh religion and literature who had an unflinching faith in Sikhism. He is also Counted among the initial doyens of the Modern Punjabi Literature.

In his book Shri Asht Gur Chamatkar Part II (1968, Amritsar, Khalsa Samachar) he writes in the account of Sree Guru Arjan Dev Ji:

After the death of the first Satguru Guru Angad Dev Ji collected the bani Of Guru Nanak Dev Ji from far and near, wherever it was available. At the time of the third Guru the bani of the first three Guru Sahiban was, it is said, got written by Sansram in two volumes. At that time these two Pothees were at Goindwal with Sree Mohan Ji, the elder son of Guru Amar Daas Ji. Guru Arjan Dev thought that if the collection can be fetched the entire bani of the four Satgurus, his own bani and the bani of the other God-loving people that may be available, be collected

in a volume after due consideration and correction. Thus he made a beginning by fetching Pothees of Goindwal (page 48).

This small quotation makes it clear that Bhai Veer Singh Ji had not seen the Pothees and that is why he writes about them rather cautiously. He shifts the entire burden of his information on the unknown narrator: "It is said that". According to the concept formed by Bhai Sahib on the basis of hear say:

(a) Guru Nanak Dev Ji did not leave behind any complete collection of his bani, therefore, Guru Angad Dev prepared a volume collecting the first Guru's bani from far and near and compiled a volume but Bhai Sahib says nothing about the history of this volume.

b) The bani of Guru Nanak, Guru Angad and Guru Amar Daas was got written in two Pothees by Sansram, the grandson of Guru Amar Daas Ji and son of Baba Mohan Ji while Guru Amar Daas Ji was yet alive. Guru Arjan Dev Ji procured these two Pothees from Baba Mohan Ji before the compilation of Aad Beed and used them after due correction.

Do I require to tell that the knowledge of Bhai Sahib regarding Pothees was as certain and standard or as uncertain and unauthenticated as it can be about an unseen collection of bani.

However, he has used one caution that he has abandoned the tune harped by the earlier historians that the volume also contained the bani of Guru Ram Daas Ji. He has also hinted that the material in the Pothees has been used after due correction.

3. S. G. B. Singh.

S. Gurbax Singh, better known as G.B.Singh (1877-1950) has been the founder scholar in the field of comparative study of the hand-written beeds of Sree Guru Granth Sahib.

There is sufficient deliberation on the Pothees of Goindwal in his book "Sree Guru Granth Sahib Deeyaan Pracheen Beedaan"(1945, Lahore, Modern Publications). But the scholarly writer has admitted that he has "not been able to see it even though he travelled upto Peshawar" (page 26). Still as per his habit he has made some personal guesses and presented some eye-witness evidences. These guesses are as under:

A) "The existence of the bani of the fourth Guru in these Pothees (of Goindwal) is impossible. They had been written before Guru Ram Daas" (page 27).

B) That the collection had been prepared by Sahansar Ram under the orders of Guru Amar Daas Ji is doubtful because according to Baba Prem Singh Hoti these words were said with a motive of its acceptance as a classic to a degree which the collection did not deserve.

C) These Pothees contained other bani as well beside the one which had been included in Sree Guru Granth Sahib Ji, which had become known in the name of Guru Nanak. Such interpolation was necessary for these Pothees.

D) Those who copied Guru Granth Sahib initially had started writing at the end some unauthenticated verses as for example:

Shlok by the first Guru : Jit Dar Lakh
Mohammada (the door at which there are lacs of
Mohammads) Shlok by the first Guru: baaye, aatish,
aab (the wind, the fire and the water)

Rattanmala by the first Guru-Aasan Sadh nislam
(Niraalam) The Hermit Sits detached).

All these banis have been copied by the writers of Guru Granth Sahib from the two Pothees of Baba Mohan and not on the basis of any hear say from outside (page 30.)

(E) Even the genuine bani which these Pothees contain can not be vouchsafed to be correct, adverbatim, not to speak of the spellings and the vowel sign as and if at all given in these Pothees (page 38.)

On the 27th and 28th page of his book he has mentioned the oral information given by Baba Prem Singh Ji. At the time he had not yet taken the detailed notes on the Pothees: otherwise he would not have said that both the Pothees were equally voluminous i.e. either of the Pothees has 250 to 275 leaves.

In the 27 and 28th pages of his book he has mentioned the oral information given by Baba Prem Singh Ji. At that time he had not yet taken the detailed notes on the Pothees: Otherwise he would not have said that both the Pothees were equally voluminous i.e. either of the Pothees has 250 to 275 leaves.

In the sixth addendum (pages 456-59), information provided by Dr. Mohan Singh Deewana has been given.

The essence of the conclusions which G.B. Singh has drawn on the basis of borrowed information is that the basis of Guru Granth Sahib were in particular the two Pothees of Baba Mohan. Whatever the fifth Guru collected from outside was very meagre in comparison with these Pothees (page 458-59).

Mr. G.B. Singh was very quick at making guesses but some of his guesses have proved to be completely correct, while some others have proved to be totally wrong. For example, his guess that the Pothees did not contain the bani of Guru Raam Daas Ji was fully correct but he did not know that there had been some interpolations in the Pothees and even today they contain 12 hymns under the title of the fourth Guru¹⁰. The false bani bearing the name of Nanak was correctly guessed by him as false. But the unauthentic bani which he recognised as having come from the Pothees is not available in the Pothees. His assertion that the bani available in the Pothees cannot be correct word for word can be accepted. G.B. Singh does not agree to the opinion of Baba Prem Singh that they had been prepared straight under the supervision of Guru Amar Daas Ji. Now our study has led us to the conclusion that G.B. Singh's distrust was justified. "Guru Arjan Dev Ji prepared/got prepared the Aad beed by taking bani from the Pothees". This tone of the conclusion of the late scholar does not coincide with that of ours, as will be clarified with the detailed study in the ensuing pages.

If the Sardar Sahib had got the opportunity to scan the Pothees, obviously his conclusions would have been different but presently it is clear that like many other top-most of our scholars, he also had not got the chance to turn the leaves of Pothee/Pothees in his life.

4. Bhai Jodh Singh

Bhai Jodh Singh (1882-1981) was recognised as standard scholar of Sikh religion in the Sikh religious circles.

His book 'Pracheen Beedaan Bare Bhullaan Di Sodhan' (1947), Lahore, (Lahore Book Shop) was published to repudiate G.B. Singh's book "Sree Guru Granth Sahib Diyan

Pracheen Beedan". In this book he has rejected some of the guesses made by G.B. Singh about the text of the Pothees from Goindwal.

G.B. Singh was dependent upon Baba Prem Singh and Dr. Mohan Singh Deewana, his informants about the Pothees. Bhai Jodh Singh also was not self-dependent as he, too, had not seen the manuscripts himself but the informant of G.B. Singh, Baba Prem Singh had seen the Pothees in detail before giving information. In addition, the job of Bhai Sahib was to disprove the conjectures of G.B. Singh and not to give information about the Pothees from himself. As such, he saved himself from any misreporting on the text but he remained incapable of making any addition to the knowledge about the Pothees. It is, however, without doubt that Bhai Jodh Singh also had not taken the trouble of seeing the Pothees for himself.

5. Professor Teja Singh.

Professor Teja Singh (1893-1958) has been a standard scholar of his time. A long and informative article by him "Guru Granth Sahib Da Sampadan" was published in the Aarsi (New Delhi) in its issue of October, 1989. This very article was published in English under the title " The editing of the holy Granth by Guru Arjan Dev Ji in the August, 1993 issue of Guru Nanak Updesh (Ambala City). This article contains many facts of our concern: For example;

- (A) Guru Amar Daas Ji had instructed Baba Sansraam, his own grandson and the son of Baba Mohan Ji to compile the bani he received, at one place and he accomplished this assignment in two years from 1570 to 1572 A.D.

- (B) Now this manuscript is available in two collections, the first one having 300 leaves and the second comprising 224 leaves. Each page has 13 lines and each line contains 13 bold letters. In his article English he has conveyed information in the following words: 'Each page contains 13 lines and each line exactly 13 well-rounded letters.'
- (C) The form of the Gurmukhi letters used in these Pothees resembles the Taatra and Sharda letters.
- (D) The vowel symbols have seldom been used.
- (E) The writers whose bani has been included in these Pothees are Guru Nanak, Guru Angad, Guru Amar Daas, Kabir, Namdev, Trilochan, Sain, RaviDaas and Jaidev.
- (F) The name of the writer has been given in the beginning only once.
- (G) This entire collection was not sufficient for Guru Granth Sahib; from where didd Guru Arjan Dev Ji take the rest of the bani? He may have taken some material from the beed which was placed in the Dharamsala of Bhai Buta Singh, the grocer of Rawalpindi upto the year 1947 A.D. It bears Sammat 1693 as the date.

The scholarly Professor Sahib has said fewer of vague things about the Pothees and has paid more attention to giving definite information. But if this information is placed and examined under the scanner of criticism, some of the falsehoods of this information will not remain hidden.

For example:

1. The information that each page contains 13 lines and each line exactly 13 letters is not fully correct. Many pages of our Pothee show that the number of lines on each page is sometimes smaller or larger. For instance, the page number 2a has 12 lines; the page No. 26a has 12; page No. 50 a has 11; page No. 60a has 17 and 61()a has 15; page No. 110a has 11; page No. 155a has 12 and page No. 160a has 14 lines. This also applies to the number of letters in each line. If we look attentively, we at once become aware that the number of letters in a line is sometimes smaller and some other times larger than 13. The information regarding "exact 13 letters in each line" cannot be accepted as authentic.
2. The vowel symbols have been rarely used. Kanna(Aa), Sihari (i), Bihari (ee), Ounkar (u), Dulankade (oo), laan (e), Dulaiyaan (ae), Hoda (o) and Bindi (n) have been used as vowel-symbols, therefore, to say that there are no vowel-symbols will be an injustice to the writer/writers.
3. The writers whose bani has been included in the Pothee do not include the names of Farid, Rama Nand, Dhanna, Beni, Sarf, Ghulam and Sada Sewak. Besides those who contributed, the Pothee as it has reached us also shows the titles of the fourth and the Fifth Gurus.
4. Professor Sahib's information that the name of the writer is given only once, in the beginning is correct but he has not talked about the complexities in the names of the writers. For example, a look at the page 105 will show that in the raag Parbhaatee the title given is Kameer Nama Bhagat (ie. Kabir and Namdev) but in the hymn below the hermit poet has given his name as Beni.

In the current context there is no need of discussing some other concepts of Professor Sahib (for example Guru Amar Daas Ji's ordering Sahansar Ram to compile the entire bani reaching him, the accomplishment of the compilation of the Pothees from 1570 to 1572, the form of letters used in the Pothee being similar to the letters of Takri and Sharda or the use of material available in the Beed of Bhai Boota Singh's Dharmasal in the preparation of the Aad Beed by Guru Arjan Dev Ji)¹¹ though the writer of these lines has his independent view about all these concepts and those views do not coincide with those of Professor Sahib. But the thing which raises its head here is that if the Professor Sahib had seen the Pothees, he had not at least seen them with concentration, which was against his nature.

Gyani Gurdit Singh Ji had claimed that he was the man¹² who had given the knowledge about the Pothees to Professor Teja Singh. It should not be surprising if the omissions contained in the statements of Professor Sahib may have come from Gyani Ji who had according to himself, had access to the detailed notes of Baba Prem Singh by that time. Almost, all the points contained in the article of Professor Teja Singh are available in the notes of Baba Prem Singh Ji, as they are.

VII

Those who saw the Pothees.

We have seen some specimens of how the Pothees of Goindwal avoided the public view of some Sikh historians recognised before the 20th century and some top most intellectuals of Sikh scholarship during the 20th century. But during the 20th century there have been some such Sikh contemporaries as were able to see these Pothees.

1. Gyani Gyan Singh.

Gyani Gyan Singh (1822-1921) is a big name of the initial stage of Sikh history of the British period. The investigation of the material of the history of the Gurus kept him on the run to far and near places. In this connection he also approached the Pothees from Goindwal. He perused one of the Pothees at Amritsar at the residence of a woman. The second Pothee had been brought by its keepers from Goindwal to Patiala in the year 1895 and then Gyani Ji succeeded in taking sufficient notes from the Pothee. He has left behind a long written statement about the material preserved in the Pothees which has since been published in his history. Standardisation demands that his complete statement be given in his own words:

"We have seen these two Pothees. One of them is with a woman at her residence in Katra Mahan Singh at Amritsar and the other one is with Bawa Budh Singh and Chet Singh at Goindwal. In the year 1952 Bikrami they had brought it to Patiala for worship and we saw it then. The letters of these Pothees cannot be deciphered well but being acquainted with the idioms and words we were able to read it. Much of the writing from them is with us but here we will display only some as a sample. One Pothee contains the text of hymns of four

raags i.e. Raamkali, Sorath, Saarang and Malhar and the other one has in it the hymns of Sree raag, Aasa, Gaudi, Wadhans and Kanada. The text starts from the words "Baba Nanak Bedi Paatshah deen duni da tikka ek onkar satgur prasaad sach naam Kartaar nirbhau nirikaar akaal moorat ajoonee sambhau guru poore ka prasad". (Baba Nanak was the Bedi Chief of temporal and spiritual worlds. God is one and he can be met with the grace of the true Guru. His name is truth and he is the maker of everything. He is fearless, bodyless and incarnation of the eternity. He is immune from birth and death and is self-existent and we can see him by the grace of the complete Guru.) This text occurs in the beginning of every hymn of the bani of the first, third and fourth Gurus as it is, and hymns also are like this, as Ramkali of the first Guru (Somebody reads and doubts and somebody else recites Puranas). These hymns continue upto the leaf No. 22 and the next 35 leaves contain the hymns of the third Guru. 54 stanzas of Onkar Dakhani of the first Guru and 28 stanzas of the Sidha Goshti continue upto the page No. 77 followed by 13 stanzas of Anand upto the page 94. This is followed by Ramkali of Kabir "Antar mael je teerath naawae." (One who bathes at the place of pilgrimage having viciousness inside;) Trilochan Raaja Raawan suno benti kahe mandodari raani (The queen Mandodri requests King Rawana to listen to her request) Kammeere Dhanna karat karankar thaake janam gaya tan chheen" (Dhanna has been tired of performing his action and this way the whole life has been wasted) Naama "Aaneele Gudiya" (let us bring the doll)-the second hymn of Namma "Bed puraan padhe kia hoyee" (What will be the gain of reciting VeDaas and Puranas) Kameere Naama's : "Pad

Padosan Poochh Le Naama" (The neighbour asks Naaama) Sorath RaviDaas "Jeo ham badhe mohi phaas prem bandhan tum badhe" (Just as we are shackled with attachment, in the same way you also are chained in love). In this way the hymns of the Gurus and the Bhagats are textually different from those in Guru Granth Sahib. The bani of incomplete hymns is very rare in these Pothees and they do not contain any of the 22 vaars¹³.

Gyani Ji's statement concerns more with the detail of the Pothee which he saw at Patiala but his style of writing is such that a reader with a shallow knowledge of the subject of the Pothees cannot easily know as to the detail of which Pothee he has given. The redeeming feature is that in his note he has indicated the raag-titles of both the Pothees seen by him. According to him one Pothee contains the bani of four raags and the other the bani of five raags. Among four raags he has counted Raamkali, Sorath, Saarang and Malhar. In the Pothee from Pinjore, these very four raags are available but the sequence of the third and the fourth raag varies. In the Pothee from Pinjore, Malhar precedes and the Saarang is at the end. The detail of the raags in the second Pothee does not coincide with our Pothee (from Ahiyapur). It is natural, therefore, to conclude that the second Pothee seen by the Gyani Ji is not our Pothee. It is some other Pothee though it may be one of the lost sisters. The following brief table testifies our claim:

The identification entries given by Gyani Ji.		Entries in the Pothees	
a)	There is the bani of Sree raag.	(a)	There is no bani of Sree raag.

b)	There is the bani of Aasa raag.	(b)	There are 13 initial lines of the vaar of Aasa raag including adoration. This is interpolation by some other writer and there is no other bani of this raag.
c)	There is the bani of Gaudi raag.	(c)	The bani in Gaudi raag is not available.
d)	The bani of Wadhans raag exists.	(d)	Only one hymn of Wadhans raag written by some other hand in LanDaas is available. No other bani in this raag exists.
e)	There is the bani in Kanada raag.	(e)	There is no bani in Kanada raag.

If Gyani Ji has given the detail of the second Pothee it does not concern our Pothee directly and therefore it is not deemed necessary to investigate it.

2. Baba Prem Singh.

Baba Prem Singh Ji (1881-1954) was a well-known writer and the first scholar of Sikh history who had taken detailed notes on both the Pothees from Goindwal.

The note book in which he had taken notes is at present safe with the writer of these lines through the grace of Baba Ji's son Baba Manmohan Singh Ji¹⁴ (Patiala). The initial words of this note book are: "Ek Onkar Satgur Prasad (God is one and he can be seen through the grace of the true Guru). The detail and the introduction of the Pothee (collection) of Baba

Mohan Ji from Sree Goindwal. The following account we have ourselves written by opening the Pothee and reciting it for the first time on 12th February and for the second time on 18th February, 1954 (This Pothee is at present with Baba Bhagat Singh Bhalla, Hoti Mardan at his residence)."

The Pothee, the details of which are given in the first 37 pages of Baba Ji's note book is at present in Pinjore. In this very note book before starting the notes on the Pothee from Ahiyapur, Baba Ji has intimated:

We have seen the first Pothee of Baba Mohan Sahib at the residence of Baba Dalip Singh Gian Chand and Lal Chand Bhalla who are the descendents of Mohan at Darapur Ahiyapur near the railway station Tanda Umar on Monday the 30th April, 1945 A.D. i.e. 18 Waisakh, Sammat 2002 Bikrami.

Baba Ji's note book contains the detail of this Pothee on pages number 38 to 62.

As has been indicated earlier this Pothee is not at present in Ahiyapur. Baba Bhagat Singh of Pinjore had told the writer of these lines on 19-08-86 in the presence of Baba Manmohan Singh Ji that Baba Dalip Chand of Ahiyapur was somewhat displeased with his offspring and therefore the Pothee preserved by him was handed over to his grandson Baba Tiirath Ram instead of his son Gain Chand and at present it is owned by his son Vinod Kumar of King's Hotel, Jalandhar.

We will not scrutinise the details of the text of the Pothee from Pinjore as given by Baba Prem Singh Ji because we do not possess its original text. But we can comfortably compare the text of the Pothee of Ahiyapur, as it is and as much as is available with us, with Baba Ji's notes.

Baba Ji had preserved the story of his lineage right upto Guru Amar Daas Ji. Being a Bhalla descendent he could take resort to the family memories coming down by lip-tradition. Secondly, having access to the Pothees he could also give documentary proof and thus could become a leading and standing specialist of the knowledge of Pothees. But if Baba Ji's notes are compared to the text of the Pothee it is soon discovered that Baba Ji's notes do not thoroughly take one through the material in the Pothee. For instance, on page 43 of his note book Baba Ji has given information about the initial text of the Pothee as under:

Ek Onkaar Satgur Prasaad.

Such Naam Guru Akaal Murati Ajoonee Sabhau Gur Prasadi.

Raag Soohi Guru Baabe Ki.

But the text of the Pothee as the reader himself can ascertain by perusing the page 1a, is somewhat different from the text given in Baba Ji's note book.

The Text of the Baba Ji	The Text of the Pothee
Satgur	Satiguru
Prasaadi	Parsadu
Sach Nam	Sachu Namu
Kartaar	Guruu
X	Nirbhau Nirikaaru
Akaal Mooratee	Akaal Murati
Sabhau	Saabhau
Gur Poore Prasaadi	X
Raag Soohi Guru Baabe Ki	Raagu Soohbi Guru Bebe Di

We take another instance:

In the Baba Ji's note book on page 49 in the end of the first line of the third hymn of raag Dhanaasree the figures indicate:

"Dhanaasree":

Kiyon Simri Sivriya Nahi Jaye. l4l1l3l

The same hymn can be seen written as the following on page 121 a of the Pothee:

Dhanaasree

Kiv Sivri Sivraya Naahi Jaye l4l1l3l

The mysterious thing is that the spellings and figures as given in Baba Ji's note book exactly coincide with the verse given in Sree Guru Granth Sahib rather than the one given in the Pothee.

It is evident that Baba Ji while taking down the text of the Pothee has not copied with exactitude. Rather he has copied the text of the Pothees at some places while at other places he has accepted the spellings given in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. He must have prepared notes for his personal consumption. It is not easy to say correctly as to what was the motive force behind his taking notes in this manner. But this manner of displaying the text of the manuscript which had been lying locked for some centuries cannot be called scientific.

If the Baba Ji had continued with this mode of taking notes, the reader would have automatically realised that even though it lacks exactitude, a certain text of the Pothee is certainly correct. But as we compare the material given in the note book with the material given in the Pothee we begin to face complexities of many types.

Undoubtedly, Baba Ji had great reverence for the Pothee. He accepted them as having been written prior to the Aad Beed of Guru Arjan Dev Ji. He also presumed that Guru Arjan Dev Ji had benefited from these Pothees in his compilation. But the honour which his Sikh mind attached to Sree Guru Granth Sahib which had developed from the Aad Beed of Guru Arjan Dev Ji as a standard text he could not attach to the Pothees of Goindwal. As such, wherever in the Pothees he found substandard verses he preferred noting down in his note book the verses as given in Sree Guru Granth Sahib.

The amazing thing is that he has talked of certain verses describing them as available in the Pothee while in actuality they do not exist in the Pothee. For example, he has in his note book given the detail of the raag Tilang on pages 53-54. His writing continues in his own hand and in the same ink. Hereunder we are reproducing the complete detail with the exception of one foot-note (and without any attempt at correction):

Raag Tilang 182

Ek Onkhar Satigur Prasaadi

Tilang Baabe Paatshaah Ka Bolana (It implies Sree Guru Nanak Dev Ji.)

Ik arj guftam pesi to dar gos kun Kartaar l4l1l

Tilang Ek onkar satigur prasadi

Bhau tera bhaang khalri mera cheetu l3l1l2l (your love is hemp and my mind is the container for it).

Tilang by the first Guru Ek onkar satigur prasadi

Jin kiya tin dekhia kia kayiye re bhayee 10-1

(whosoever has created it is seeing it; what can we say, brother?).

Tilang: " Jaesee mae Aawe khasm ki bani tasada kari gian
ve laalo l1l2l3l5l

Tilang Kameer Ji Ek onkar satigur prasadi.

"Bed kateb iftra Bhai dil ka fikr na jaye l4l1l (The veDaas
and the scriptures are a denigration, brother; the mind does not
get free of worry).

Namdev Ji " Mae Andhule ki tek tera naam khundkaara" l3l1l2l
(your name which is supreme is the support of my blind self
l3l1l2l

Halle yaara halle yaara, khushikhabari l4l2l3l (listen O
friend; I have a good news).

As the perusal of the Pothee will clarify, the last two hymns
of Baba Ji's list (Mae andhule ki tek and Halle yaara halle)
do not exist in the Pothee.

Similarly, comparison of Baba Ji's detail of raag Gujri on
page 55 of the note book with the text of the Pothee is capable
of bewildering any reader. Baba Ji's list is as under:

Raag Gujri Ek onkar Satigur prasadi page 185 of the
Pothee ji.

Gujri by the first Guru: "Tera naamu kari chananathia je
man ursa hoye" l4l1l (If one's mind becomes a grinding stone,
your name becomes a piece of sandal-wood.

Gujri of the First Guru:

"Nabhi kamal te Brahma upje bed padeh mukh kathiswar"
l4l2Al (Brahma takes his birth from the lotus of the navel and
reads the VeDaas with a mellifluous voice).

Gujri 3 Ek onkar satigur prasadi:

Dhrig iveha jeevna jit har preet na paaye" l4l1l3l
(Condemnable is the life that does not cherish love for the
Almighty.

"Har ki tum seva karoh dooji seva kareh na koye ji" I4I2I4I
(You should serve the Almighty; service of none else is worthwhile).

"Raam Raam sab ko keh kahiya Raam na Hoye" I4I4I6I
(Everybody utters Raama, Ramma; but nobody can become Raam just by saying)

Gujri Eko Naam Nidhaan Pandit Suni Sikhu Sachu Soyee
I5I (His name is the only foundation, Pandit. Only he can be truthful who listens to the advice)

Gujri of the first Guru Ek onkar satigur prasadi

"Bhagti prem aaradhitang sach pyas param hitang" I8I1I
(We should meditate with devotion and love; curiosity for truth should be the chief concern).

Gujri Kameer Ji "chari kav dueye sing gang mukh tab kaise
gun gayee hae I4I7I (If you become an animal with four feet, two
horns and without speech how will you sing praises of god?)
(Gujri Naame ki Malae na lachhai paarmlo parmlio baetho ri
aayee I3I God Almighty does not take any stain and sits
spreading fragrance around)

Gujri Trilochan Ek onkar satigur prasadi

"Anti kali jo lachhmi simrai

Aisi chinta je marai" I5I (If at the last moment one thinks of
wealth and dies in this anxiety).

Jaidev Ji Ek onkar satigur prasadi

Paramaadi purkh mano pimang sat aadi bhavartang I5I1I
(The eternal supreme god is saturated with the sentiment of
love.)

One hymn next to it is in Bilawal, which has not been
deciphered.

Out of the above list of raag Gujri the present Pothee contains only one hymn by Bhagat Trilochan “Ant kaali jo lachhmi simre” (one who remembers wealth at the last moment) in Landa script. All other hymns are missing in the Pothee.

The detail of raag Maaroo has been started by Baba Ji on page 59 of the note book and concluded on page 60. This detail also has created a serious problem for us. It has been written in Baba Ji's note book as under: -

The raag Maaroo starts from page 270.

Ek onkar satgur prasaadi

Raag Maaroo Baabe Patsaah ka

"Pichhaho rati saddada naam khasm kalehe"|4|1| (there is a call towards the last part of the night to remember the name of the Master).

Maaroo of the first Guru: "Mili Maat pita pind kamaaya" |4|2| (Met the parents and nourished the body).

7 hymns of the first Guru occur in this sequence Maaroo of the third Guru Ek onkar satigur prasaadi

"Jeh baisaaleh teh baisa swami jeh bhejeh tah jawa |5|1| (I shall sit where the Master seats me and I shall go where the Master sends me).

This is followed by 5 hymns.

Further we have the verses of the first Guru in 16-line stanzas in Maaroo raag.

Maaroo bani of Kabir ji:

Ek onkar satgur prasaadi

“Pandiya kavan kumati tum laage” |4|1| (O pandit what ill advice have you taken)

After the 6 hymns of Kabir ji, the last hymn is as under;-

"Dehi gawa jeeo dhar mahtau baseh panch kirsana."|3|7|

(The body is like a village where five selected farmers reside)

Raag Maaroo bani of jaidio:

Ek onkar satigur prasaadi Chand soot bhedia naad sat pooria soorsat khoj saadatu keea |2| (through yogic exercises breath is inhaled through the right nostril and exhaled (after saying 'OM' 16 times). Maaroo of RavDaas ji:

Ek onkar satigur prasaadi

"Aisi lall tujh binu kaun karae"|2|1| (O my darling who can do so except you?)

Maaroo: "Sukh sagar suritu chintamani kaamdhaen basi ja ke re |3|2| God is an ocean of peace, a divine tree and the one who can grant all boons and fulfil all desires)

In the present Pothee all the 7 hymns of the first Guru in Maaroo raag are available. The first lines of the two of these have been given by Baba ji (Pichhon rati... and mili maat) and there are five more. These five also are available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib.

The hymn of the third Guru which has been given by Baba ji in his note book (Jeh baesaaleh) is available in the Pothee but the next five hymns are not available there. Instead of these the Pothee has the following two hymns, taking them to have been written by the third Guru while Sree Guru Granth Sahib shows them to have been written by Guru Nanak Dev ji:

(a) Eh dhan sarb rehia bharpoori (this spirit invests everything)

(b) Sooru Sooru sosi ie som saru pokhi le jugti kari maat su sambandhu keeja (Eliminate the heat and develop coolness of temper, and become rarefied).

At the head of the page 60 Baba ji has given an indication of existence of the 16-line verses of the first Guru in the following manner:- "This is followed by the 16-line stanzas in Maaroo raag. "Sree Guru Garanth Sahib has 22 16-line stanzas of the first Guru in Maaroo raag but the Pothee at present does not have even a single 16-line stanza.

Hereafter, there is some difference of sequence of bani. For instance, according to Baba ji the first hymn of Kabir in Maaroo raag is "Pandiya kawan kumati tum laage |4|1| and after this there is information about six other hymns, the last of which is :

"Dehi gawa jeo dhar mehto baseh panch kirsaana |3|7|

The Pothee does not show this sequence of Baba Ji. Therein the hymn in Maaroo raag by Kabir "Pandiya kawan Kumati....." is available in raag kedaara but therein there are two other lines in the beginning and the lines starting with "Pandiya kawan kumati" follow:

Ved Puraan padhe ka kia gun khar chandan jaise bhaara Raam naam ki gati nahin jaani bhai doobe saisara |1|

(what is the use of perusing the VeDaas and the Puranas? It is as if a donkey carried a load of sandal-wood. The world has no knowledge of the name of Rama and is being drowned in fear).

Pandiya kawan kamati tum laage.

Dubaho ge parvar sahit sau Raam na japoh abhage|1| Rahao (Oh Pandit what ill-advice are you following? You will be drowned

along with family, o you unfortunate fellow, if you do not remember Rama. Pause).

In this raag, the bani entered in the Pothee and in Baba Ji's note book are at great variance. But to avoid superfluity we hesitate from giving its detail. However, we take the liberty of mentioning here that the hymns of Bhagat RaviDaas Ji shown in the Baba Ji's note book to be present in the Pothee do not at present exist in it.

The way in which Baba Ji has given the detail of the Bhagat bani in Maaroo raag shows that the verses of Bhagat Kabir scattered all over the Pothee have been collected together on the pattern of Guru Granth Sahib and placed before the Bhagat Bani. Bhagat Jaidev's hymn which had been placed at No. 1 in the Pothee has been placed after the poetry of Bhagat Kabir. He has taken this much of self-willed liberty from his devotion.

Now we are able to understand at least one part of Baba Ji's device of taking notes in his note book about the Pothee. This device, freely used, is this : As far as possible the entries of the Pothee should be made in his note book in spellings used in Sree Guru Granth Sahib.

Similarly at the end of the lines the figures given in Sree Guru Granth Sahib should be preferred to those given in the Pothee.

We have already seen the effort in this raag to compile the bani of one writer together and make Kabir the chief of bhagats.

For those who have the knowledge of the Pothees it is not difficult to explain the Baba Ji' efforts to adapt the text of the Pothees to the text of Sree Gruru Granth Sahib. But those hymns which the Baba Ji has shown to be present in the Pothee but

which are factually not present in the Pothee are not easy to explain.

Baba Ji did not consume opium. Therefore he can not be accused of automatically seeing the bani of Sree Guru Granth Sahib entered in the Pothees during his doze.

If the interference with the figures on the leaves of the present Pothee and displacing the leaves at the time of binding of the Pothee fail to explain satisfactorily the statments of Baba Ji, they can be explained only in one way i.e two similar Pothees were present in the same house and the second was more prominent then the first. This hypothesis easily explains the rest of the secrets of Baba Ji's copyig. In any case Baba Ji has created a big problem for the Pothee specialist and the solution of this problem has to be found.

3. Dr. Mohan Singh Deewana.

Dr. Mohan Singh Deewana (1899-1984) was the head of the Punjabi Department at Punjab University, Lahore and was a sizable treasury of knowledge. The written statement regarding one Pothee of Goindwal which he provided to S. G.B. Singh and which he vouchsafed to be correct in some of his articles published later has been published as the sixth addendum in S. G.B. singh's book. In this statement, Doctor Sahib has asserted as under:

"In December 1933 I had the fortune of visiting Sree Goindwal Sahib and seeing the one, the first, Pothee of Baba Mohan Ji. When it was opened I sat before it with permission. I also took some notes which are not before me at present. But what I remember by heart I place before you." (page 456).

This note was written in 1945, 12 years or more after the actual seeing of the Pothee in 1933. The images engraved on the mind of Doctor Sahib may have been very bold in the beginning but possibly must have faded with the passage of time. The certainty with which he has written about the points preserved in memory leads to the conclusion that his memory was not standing him in good stead. For instance he writes that:

(a) First of all the bani jap is entered in the Pothee

At present the bani jap is not available in the beginning of either of the present Pothees. The S.No. of the leaves having the bani in the first Pothee which he mentions to have seen starts from 1(a) but the Pothee does not have the bani jap in the beginning. It starts with Guru Nanak's hymn in Soohi raag "Bhada dhoey, baes dhoopu, devaho, ta doodhai kau javaho (clean the utensil giving it the incense and then go for milking)"

(b) He has written Ek onkar satigur ke prasad instead of Ek onkar Satiguru prasad.

As can be seen in the original Pothee there are other differences besides 'ke' in the mool mantara.

(c) Ja is followed by the hymns of rahoraas and then by sidh gosht. The bani of the bhagats is placed at the at the end.

The information given in the above statement is entirely different from the text of the present Pothee. So, either some other manuscript which is not available now was shown to Dr. Mohan Singh Deewana; or as has been hinted at above, his memory was letting him down.

(d) At one place on the page on left side a hymn of Namdev Ji has been deleted and on the page of the right side the same hymn has been given in another and correct form.

On the page 163 a of the Pothee the hymn "Pehl puriye pundrak vana taa che hansa sagle jana. (This creation is a forest of lotuses and the people are like swans in it) written by Bhagat Namdev Ji in raaga Dhanasari is available. The writer has crossed the last word "Na" of last but one line on this page. He has also crossed the last line next to this verse on this page. On the next page i.e. 163 b, the uppermost 8 lines have also been deleted by crossing them with lines. But, next, the hymn has been completed by linking its continuity with the prior context. The lines deleted and those rewritten are at mutual variance. The entire hymn has not been deleted; nor is the deleted hymn on the left side and the corrected one on the right side. The Pothee does not contain a single hymn by Bhagat Namdev which might be deemed appropriate as per the above information of Doctor sahib.

(e) "The Sree raag was no doubt already there".

The raag intimated by Doctor Sahib does not exist in either of the two Pothees. The Pothee with us starts with raag soohi and the first raag in the Pothee from Pinjore is Raamkali.

Dr. Mohan Singh claims that he had seen the Pothee by turning its pages. Now our friend Bawa Budh Singh (Sometime back he expired), a resident of Patiala, used to tell that when Dr. Sahib went to Goindwal he had stayed with him at Tarntaaran. Bawa Ji used to tell also that there was a rumour in the air that the Bawas at Goindwal possessed two Pothees and not one and that they did not show the same Pothee to everybody i.e. they showed one Pothee to some people and another to others. Sufficient material out of what Baba Prem Singh had seen is not available in the Pothee and what Dr. Mohan Singh has seen is also not to be seen in the Pothee. This applies to Gyani Gyan

Singh also. It may not be asserted with certainty about Bawa Budh Singh, but it can be firmly claimed about Dr. Deewana that he was no novice in the matter of examining manuscripts. Still, until the Pothees with features described by Baba Prem Singh or Dr. Mohan Singh reveal themselves, one will have to be content by saying that their statements do not apply to our Pothee from Ahiyapur.

4. Gyani Gurdit Singh.

Gyani Gurdit Singh (1923-) has all his life maintained a serious concern for investigation of the resources and different aspects of Sikh literature and Sikh history. This very fondness pushed him on the path of research and acquisition of the old manuscripts. It has already been intimated that I owe the acquisition of the original photo copies of the Pothee to the labour and effort of this scholar.

Gyani Ji has been writing about his direct acquaintance with the Pothees from Goindwal¹⁵. But because in his latest work "Itihas Sree Guru Granth Sahib" (part Bhagat bani) 1990, he has discussed these Pothees under the title Pothees from Goindwal from page 562 to 579, the evaluation of his knowledge of the Pothees should be made on the basis of his latest writing.

When he was writing the above history he possessed the photo copies of the Pothee from Ahiyapur (now Jalandhar) in his personal collection. Therefore, he had the facility and fortunately leisure to make a deep study of every aspect of at least one Pothee.

In addition, he had invaluable pre-Pothee and post-Pothee written material for a comparative study as he himself intimates. It is, therefore, natural to expect a lot of standard information

about both the Pothees from Ahiyapur and from Pinjore and here and there his writing gives that clear glimpse also. As such, it was very possible that he might have been donned with the highest recognition in the field of the knowledge of Pothees but his way has been barred by some of his interests, carelessnesses and mis-statements and he has not been able to achieve an all-round victory.

Now we will see how Gyani Ji missed the prize which was within his reach.

The first reason is that he has not been able to decipher the text correctly. Gyani Ji's book has so many mistakes of proof-reading that he can comfortably shift his own errors in deciphering the text of the Pothees to the proof-reader and can himself go scotfree. But in the presence of the ensuing few samples which include examples of displacement and wrong reading, the incapability of Gyani Ji does not remain hidden from the conscious reader. For instance, all the ensuing examples have been taken from the text of the single page giving Sammat which the Gyani Ji has copied on the page 562 of his history and where it can be examined.

In the Pothee the Sammat has been given on the left side but in the Gyani Ji's book its place has been changed to the corner on the right side in the process of copying. At the top of this page in the beginning of the Pothee the words "Ek onkar Satiguru prasadi" have been written but the Gyani ji has shifted them to the fourth line. Similarly the line with words " Pothee likhi Guru" has been moved from the right side to the left side. The ideal situation lies in presenting the copy exactly according to the original rather than making arbitrary alteration in it before presenting it to the readers.

After the examples of displacement now we examine some samples of misreading:

S. No. of the line on the page. -----	The original text on the page. -----	Text as given by Giani ji. -----
2nd	Sammatu	Sammat
2nd	Abir	Aabar
3rd	Wadi-1	Wadi 7
4th	Baabe	Baabe ¹⁶
4th	Nirikaar	Nirankaar
5th	Sabhau 1	Sanbhau gur poore ke Prasadi
5th and 6th	Baru	Bare
7th	Sae	Sae
7th	Ji	Jo
8th	Nali	Naal
8th	Chitu	Chito
8th	Laayega	Laayega
9th	Hogu	Hoyega
9th	Dovae	Dove
9th	Swarnige	Swarnge
10th	Hovaega	Hovega
10th	Kitae	Kite

10th	Galae	Galon
10th	butiaguna	butiae ga na
11th	Muktu	Mukt
11th	Guru Passi	Guru Pass
11th	Javgu	Javgool
12th	Parmesaru	Prameshar
12th	Esu mah	Sumat
13th	Sehsa	Sahsa
13th	Naahi	Naahin
13th	Eih	Eh
13th	Gal	Gall
13th to 14 th	Vari	Sach
14th	Jaanani	Jaanani\
14th	Asaadi	Saadi
15th	Hundi	Haddi
15th	Guru	Guru
15th	Chhadikae	Chhode ke
15th	Duyae	Duye
15th to 16th	Lagaega	Lagega
16th	So	Si
16th	Avasi	Avas
16th	Jaaegu	Jayega

This does not include those texts of the Pothee which have been made unclear by the age of the Pothee or the deciphering of which can lead to a controversy among the scholars. For example, the writer of these lines reads from the Pothee: "Angde

amb/r nae deea" (sixth and seventh lines) while Gyani Ji and Dr. Pyaar Singh have read it as "Angde aa / ge dea /

The thing which Gyani Ji must remember is that in the field of scholarship, an omission is considered an omission whether small or big: and a mistake is considered a mistake whether small or big. Self-willed reading is not confined to this page alone¹⁷ a very important part of which belongs to the time after the writing of the Pothee. Rather he has taken many such liberties with the part of the Pothee containing beani the examples of which violate the standards of scholarship. If Gyani Ji describes the photo of the request on page 8-b in the Pothee as the photo of the first page in his history (opposite page 9), shall we call it a liberty or something else?

Here we do not feel the need for giving a list of those liberties but there is a more serious mischief than these, to which I feel duty-bound to draw attention. The mischief is that the words not written by the Pothee-writer have been stated to have been wrritten in the Pothees. The writer of these lines thinks it enough to write about the mischief of Gyani Ji that it may be an act of any scholar but it implies serious injustice to uncautious and innocent readers. One may or may not agree to Gyani Ji's concepts of the Pothees, but nobody has the right to object to his belief forming the concepts and preaching them. I object to his view that the scholarly researchers are at liberty ,to state the words as written in the Pothee, which have actually not been written and to mislead their readers. Gyani Ji says on page 562 of his book as under:

If we look at the Pothee, the second main writer appears to be Guru Ram Daas Ji who was Bhai Jetha at that time. So much so, that some leaves of the Pothees contain his bani before he

acceded to the seat of guruship. Those pages contain a particular type of information and bear his signatures as per his previous name when he used to write Jetha Ji instead of Guru Ram Daas Ji e.g. Gulaam Jetha, Sad Sewak Jetha etc. (exact copy).

Again he writes on page 563: "soohi Gulaam, Sad Gulaam Jetha, Gulaam Parbhaatee etc. Information through this type of variegated titles in the Pothees advances the date of composition of the Pothees....." Gyani Ji's conclusions, like construction of his sentences need sufficient improvement but I do not want to enter into any controversy with him about these conclusions. However, I want to clarify with all the stress at my command that the text of the Pothee of Ahiyapur, as I have received it, has nowhere written the words like Gulaam Jetha, Sad -Sewak Jetha or sad-Gulaam Jetha. Gyani Ji is talking about the Pothee from Ahiyapur but without giving a hint he drags in the writing available on the margin of page 93-b of the Pothee from Pinjore "Gulaam mast tad jath Chad which is in Lande script and it can be deciphered as under: " Gulaam mast taenda, Jeth Chand. Resorting to the writing outside the original text of the Pothee from Pinjore, Gyani Ji has repeatedly used such words as Gulaam Jetha, Sad-Sewak Jetha and sad-Gulaam Jetha as having been written in the Pothee from Ahiyapur. As such he has mis-informed his readers and therefore who can save from staggering those readers who have faith in Gyani Ji's academic integrity.

We have already admired Gyani Ji's struggle to bring the Pothee to light. The manner in which he has given space in his book to the detail of the Pothee promotes the knowledge despite its many loopholes. But the supreme seat in the field of the

knowledge of text on which the Gyani Ji was to be seated has been denied to him due to the above mentioned two big defects. Another scholar has been seated there by virtue of his methodical research and perfect presentation.

5. Dr. Pyar Singh.

This scholar is Dr. Pyar Singh (1914-1996). Standardisation comprehensiveness and depth of the knowledge of the Pothees, and able and orderly presentation of that knowledge has brought Doctor Sahib to the front rank of the Punjabi text Scientists. In his book "Gaatha Sree Aad Granth", we find a discussion on Pothees of Baba Mohan or those from Goindwal from the page 71 to 112.

In these pages he has tried to scan many aspects of the Pothees. Some of the titles under which he has dealt with this topic are as under:

- a] The volume and form of Pothees
- b] The technique of paging
- c] The order of the bani and its writers
- d] The Pothee from Ahiyapur
- e] The Pothee from Pinjore
- f] Other special facts
- g] An account of the deleted hymns
- h] The writer and the time of writing

He has attempted to investigate afresh every topic of research connected with the Pothees and has also made some bold guesses. The readers, no doubt, will read about the guesses which I disapprove. At the time of the correct evaluation of Doctor Sahib's research, one should remember that Doctor Sahib had

neither the device to link his lineage with the writers of the Pothees as was done by Baba Prem Singh and nor had he the amenity of the governmental or semi- governmental patronage available to Gyani Gurdit Singh. The only things that he had were the sweetness of his speech, Baton of humility, limitless patience, equanimity and persistence, through a sagacious use of which he was able to prevail upon the owners of the Pothee from Ahiyapur. For months together he travelled by bus from Amritsar to Jalandhar and back and scanned each and every leaf of the Pothee like a skilled scientist. In that while he copied almost the entire Pothee from Ahiyapur with his own hands. Doctor Sahib very generously permitted the writer of these lines to use the manual copy of the Pothee for which the writer will ever remain grateful to him.

He had improvised an access to the second Pothee also, but due to the non- cooperation of the owners midway he was obliged to accomplish the incomplete journey of his research in the light shown by Baba Prem Singh. On the whole Dr. Pyar Singh's book can be said to be the most comprehensive and almost complete work in research so far carried out about the Pothees from Goindwaal.

As the readers can realize for themselves, these qualities of his have made our task, at the same time, easier as well as more difficult.

PART II

VIII

Journey of the Pothee.

The journey of the Pothee is the most important part of this introduction because it not only provides the detail of the text from end to end, but also it has been tried in it to investigate every possible question that may raise its head. For myself I have tried not to repeat but if somewhere for the clarity of the subject in hand I have been obliged to repeat, it is hoped that the scholarly reader will realise my helplessness and excuse me. I have been obliged to make some bold conjectures to solve certain problems because the Pothee itself and Sikh history are completely silent about them or their propositions are not credible. I have tried that these conjectures should be believable and I hope that such an effort will fructify.

1. Prologue and Post-script. .

By now we have acquired the knowledge of proceeding and receding boundaries of the information about the Pothees from the main custodians of Sikh history to some selected modern scholars who exposed the Pothees. This survey has brought out one thing that the Pothees during their stay at Goindwal escaped the investigating glance of the scholars but they ceased to be a closed treasure after leaving the perimeters of Goindwal. Therefore, the present day scholars will have no complaint of lack of standard and basic research material in the field of investigation and assessment of Pothees. Particularly when the present book sees the light of the day, this complaint will not at all be there. I am not oblivious that many problems connected with the Pothees require solutions. It is possible that some of them may move towards their solutions in the light of the exact text of the Pothees and the discussion held in this introduction. Even if it does not become possible. even availability of the exact text of the Pothees is expected to prove an invaluable blessing for the researchers.

So far, all efforts in respect of the Pothees with the exception of Baba Prem Singh's notes the press copy of which he could not prepare in his life time. have come about as a part of bigger Literary Projects. Or they have been made in the form of random articles. The main issue in S.G.B.Singh's book was the old beeds; Gyani Gurdit Singh was involved in the bani of the Bhagats; and Dr. Pyar Singh was marking out the interpolations in the beeds. Therefore. there is still scope for extensive research. But since no critical study in complete form has yet been presented. it will be justified to claim about the venture in hand that for the first time the Pothee from Goindwal is being

displayed in toto and again for the first time the Pothee has been made the subject of independent extensive research.

It has been tried that even very complex and critical problems should be settled at the level of logic and science and not at that of emotions.

It is hoped that as the writer of these lines deliberates upon the touched, half-touched and untouched layers of the Pothee, the problems of the reader will see the possibility of their being unravelled. If this hope of mine bears fruits, I will be content about the usefulness of this voluminous venture.

2. Alterations made by the Editor.

Due to the alterations of many types the present Pothee is not what it must have been in the beginning. Many extra writings have been added to it. New figures have been put on the pages alongwith old ones, the Pothee has been bound and the leaves may have been put out of their place at the time of the binding. The result of these additions and alterations is that one may need a hand-writing specialist to read the original form of the Pothee, in particular because some entries were made while the writing style of Gurmukhi of the original writer was yet current. With these additions and alterations it has been tried in the ensuing pages to give this information. But it will be appropriate to inform the scholarly readers in advance about a big change which the Editor has intentionally made. The Editor believes that with this-change some detached leaves the detail of which has been given in the following pages have got their proper place in the volume.

The hymns of Basant raag run smoothly from page No. 168b to 178b. The 13th hymn starting on page 178-a (sagal bhavan teri maya mohi) continues on page 178-b but does not

get concluded. Pages No. 179-a and 179-b are left blank and incomplete hymn of page No.178-a restarts on the next page but the page bears the figure 300. From the 7th line of this very page (300-a) the next hymn of Basant raag (Meri sakhi saheli sunoh bhaya) starts and the next page on which it is concluded bears the page No.187 in the Pothee. On this very page (187-a) in Basant raag itself, the hymn having the title of the fourth Guru (Aape kudrati kare saaji) restarts and gets concluded on page No.187-b. Thereafter, the pages 180-a, 180-b and 181-a are blank. On page No .181-b Tilang raag starts with new adoration. There are only 6 hymns in this raag the first lines of which are as under:

- A] Ikk arj gaftang pesi tu dar gos koo Kartaar (page no.181b').
- B] Bhau tera bhaag khald mera cheetu hau dewaana bhaya ateeu (page 182-a).
- C] Jini keeya tini dekhia kia kahiyae re Bhai: (page 182-b).
- D] Jaisi mae aawae khasm ki bani taisa kari gyaan ve laalo (page 183-a).
- E] Alloh eku kareemu kudrati sachu kadru paaku (page 184-a) .
- F] Bedang katebang iftra jitu dil ka fikru n jaaye (page 299b).

Thereafter page no.299 is available and on the a. side five and a quarter lines of the hymn of raag Goojaree (Ant kali jo lakhmi sivrae) are there and on page 299-b there is the complete hymn of Bhagat Kabir (bedang katebang iftra dil ka fikru na jaye). Next to it, on page 185-a again the full hymn of raag Gjoori (Ant kal j lakhm sawar as chat j mar) is given in Lande script. Page 185b is left blank and page 186-a bears the hymn of Bilawal raag (Man madar tan was kalandar ghat h tARTH naw) in lande script.

The page 186-b is blank. The pages 187-a and 187-b have already occurred. This is the leaf on which the hymn of the Basant raag bearing title of the fourth Guru, can be seen. Next to it, from page No. 188-a to the beginning of raag Bhaero on page No.227-b. the sequence of Basant raag, moves uninterrupted.

This detail shows that the pages of Tilang raag may have been lying blank and somebody else may have written the hymns of Tilang raag which at some time probably at the time of binding—may have been stitched inside raag Basant. I have taken these leaves from inside the Basant raag and put them at the end of the Pothee and put the page no. 299 also at its proper place, i.e. at the end of the Pothee. Through this, the interruption in the 15th hymn of Basant raag has been removed and the 16th hymn moves smoothly. In addition, raag Tilang also has got its separate place.

I have left, as they are, the figures indicating the page numbers and given twice in the Pothee. But in order to fill the gaps, to relink the delinked series of figures and making the references simpler I have added new international figures in the middle of the lower margin of the pages which continue uninterrupted from ob to 300 b. Wherever some information were needed about the old page numbers of the Pothee, a special note has been given. For the rest of the references the figures indicating the pages, the new figure series may be consulted.

To simplify the references to the new page figures and the old two types of figures of the Pothee of a parallel list has been prepared which can be seen in the first addendum of the Pothee.

3. Filling in the gaps.

The editor is aware that the readers will feel very peeved by the lack of photos of some leaves of the Pothee. If it had been in our power we would never have allowed these gaps to be there. These gaps were caused because the photographer who had been deputed to take the photos of the Pothee from Ahiyapur erroneously refilled a fully used reel in the Camera. This way 29 photos were lost. Had the University acted promptly to make good this loss, this loss would have been perhaps made good easily. But, for the present, the attitude of the new masters was not very co-operative and therefore there is no alternative with the editor but to offer an apology for lack of these photos. The redeeming feature is that the text of almost all the pages is available with us, which has been made possible through the procurement of manual copies of these pages by Dr. Pyar Singh. Dr. Pyar Singh had copied page-wise and not line-wise and; therefore we have been obliged to divide the copies of these pages linewise on the basis of a conjecture. Thus though we have no photos of the following 29 pages, it is hoped that their text is according to the original, notwithstanding the fact that the same claim cannot be made about the number of lines on the pages and that of the phrases in a line.

Those pages are:

(A) 3a, (B) 4a, (C) 45b, (D) 47b, (E) 48b, (F) 49b, (G) 50b, (H) 281b, (I) 282b, (J) 283b, (K) 91b, (L) 143a, (M) 144a, (N) 146a, (O) 147a, (P) 148a, (Q) 149a, (R) 284b, (S) 285b, (T) 287b, (U) 150b, (V) 152a, (W) 153a, (X) 154a, (Y) 155a, (Z) 156a, (A1) 180b, (B1) 288b, (C1) 300b. Total pages= 29.

The haziness of some photo-copies is inherent. Whether the camera was responsible for this or the film or the weather or

the Photographer the fact remains that this defect in the original material is there and has had to be accepted. Whenever I am caught in such a tangle I sometimes mutter the well-known saying: "Darr watt zamaana katt, bhale din aaonge". (Pass the time with a stiff upper lip and look forward to better times). At that time it would be possible to see the Pothee unhindered and curiosity will be fully satisfied.

4. The look of the Pothee.

As has already been intimated I have not been able to get an opportunity to scan the Pothee but my scholarly friend Dr. Pyar Singh got unhindered opportunities to scan and scrutinise the Pothee thoroughly during 1988 and 1989. He has described the outlook of the Pothee from Ahiyapur in contrast with that from Pinjore in the following words :

The size of the first Pothee i.e the one from Ahiyapur and second i.e. the one from Pinjore is almost the same i.e. 24 centimetres x 35 and the written matter is 16 centimetres x 23 centimetres. The size of the written matter is not always uniform; it is more or less. The form of these Pothees is book-like. In other words the bottom is small and the height is larger. Almost on every page about 5 centimetres wide margin is left on three sides. In the margin, a simple linear creeper-like decoration runs on. The formation of the creeper is like this: Two lines, one red and the other black near each other are drawn on the right side and similar two lines are drawn on the left side while in between the lines there is a big stripe of orange hue. Usually, each page has 13 lines and each line has 13 or 14 letters but on many pages the number of lines is smaller or larger. The main Pothee is written in a single hand; the verses interpolated later on seem to be in different three or four hands. The height of the letters is

about half a centimetre and their width also is almost the same. The ink is not uniformly black; at some places it is dim and at others it is dark. The paper is of brown colour, thick and of Kashmiri type¹⁸

IX

Face to face with the Pothee.

The beginning of the Pothee does not have any list of contents. The practice of giving details of raags, writers and subjects in the beginning of the Pothees in view of the needs of the readers can be seen in the concurrent compilations in Punjab and Rajasthan¹⁹. In some cases the lists of the first lines of the hymns also are available. The lists of this type make the access of the readers to the required text of the Pothees much easier. These lists are usually prepared by the writer himself or one of his helpers or cooperators after the completion of the Pothee. It is possible that the party preparing or getting prepared the Pothees from Goindwal may have expected some more entries in these compilations and may have postponed the list of contents till the completion of the compilation. It, too, is possible that the writer or the party getting the Pothee prepared may not have got leisure to accomplish the whole project after the initial enthusiastic fit or the life may not have stood by him or he may

have had to bifurcate the Pothees unwillingly and prematurely or some other cause may have stood in his way. Whatever the cause may have been, it is obvious that there is no list of contents in the beginning of the Pothee. To make up this deficiency a complete list of the first lines of all available hymns in the Pothee has been given in the beginning of the text of the second volume of the Pothee.

The Pothee starts with a leaf devoid of any page number. The right side of that leaf is blank but on the left side (bearing our no. ob), there is a writing containing the year of the writing of this book and a mention of the blessings by three generations of the Gurus. In all the four corners of this page there is decoration like leaves of the holy fig tree. The leaves also contain some decorated design. The blank space between the lines is also decorated. This page, in particular, demands critical attention. Therefore, in the ensuing pages we shall deeply scrutinise every aspect of this page.

On the leaf next to the page bearing the year of writing and the blessings, there is a leaf, 'a' part (1a) of which is lying blank. On its backside i.e. 'b' side (1b) the text of the Pothee formally starts and this should be regarded as the first page of the Pothee. The figure I written above its upper left corner outside the margin also indicates this. The page on which the text starts and the two sides of the next leaf i.e. 2a and 2b bear, like the page indicating the year, decorations of colourful designs a glimpse of the page 1a shows the writing of the moolmantar on the right side. This verse which in some details is different from the mool mantar given in Sree Guru Granth Sahib is written in Six lines, leaving some margin on the left side. The rest of the space is decorated with multi-coloured designs. Immediately after the conclusion of the

mool mantar the seventh line gives the title "Rag (raag) Soohbi Guru Bebe (Baabe) di" and below it, is written with some differences the hymn available on the page 728 of Sree Guru Granth Sahib (Bhanda dhoye baesi dhoopu devaho tau doodhae kau jawaho). Raag Soohbi which in the ensuing pages of the Pothee has been written as Soohi is concluded on page 37b. Upto the page 37b this raag contains a total of 24 hymns the detail of which is as under :

A	Guru Nanak Dev	=	3 hymns
B	Guru Angad Dev	=	1 hymn (In Sree Guru Granth Sahib this hymn is mentioned as having been written by Guru Nanak Dev.
C	Guru Amar Daas	=	9 hymns (In Sree Guru Granth Sahib two of these hymns are mentioned as having been written by Guru Nanak Dev.
D	Without the title	=	11 hymns (In Guru Granth Sahib 10 out of these hymns have been shown as having been written by Guru Nanak Dev and the 11th hymn does not exist there. But the Pothee has placed this hymn having the name of Nanak at the end of the hymns of Sree Guru Amar Daas. It implies that the Compiler of the Pothee accepted

		these hymns as having been written by Guru Amar Das Ji.
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After the above-mentioned 24 hymns there is a hymn written in Lande script under the title of Raag Wadhans. This is followed by the second instalment of 24 hymns in raag soohi which runs from page 39b to page 61b. The division of hymns, according to writers, is as under:

A.	Guru Amar Das	= 4 hymns
B.	Gulaam	= 3 hymns (have been deleted).
C.	Sada Sewak	= 1 hymn (deleted)
D.	Kabir	= 1 hymn (This hymn does not exist in Sree Guru Granth Sahib).
E.	Farid	= 1 hymn
F.	RaviDas	= 3 hymns
G.	Without title	= 11 Hymns (Out of these, in Sree Guru Granth Sahib three have been mentioned as written by Guru Nanak Dev Ji, two by Sheikh Farid and three by Bhagat Kabir. The rest of the hymns are not available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. Out of these one is by Bhagat Kabir, one is by Bhagat Namdev and one is by Sheikh Sarf).

Here we have made a detailed mention of the first raag soohi only as a specimen. We are avoiding such detail of the ensuing text of the Pothee, here, because this detail will be available on the next pages.

Before entering into the detail of every entry, the reader should, however, be equipped with the information that the Pothee has a total No. of 300 leaves (600 pages) out of which some are placed in disorderly manner and some others are left blank. A detailed account of all such pages will be found in the pages that follow. A total of 293 hymns written by the original writer and by some other hands have been entered into the Pothee. They include some deleted and interpolated hymns. The Pothee does not contain any vaar or any other long composition. Three hymns by Baba Farid are available in the Pothee but no slok by him has been entered. The most of the bani is the same as in Sree Guru Granth Sahib but there is also some unauthentic bani. For instance one hymn by Sheikh Sarf and 13 hymns by Gulaam/Sada Sewak are available there. The script used in the Pothee is old Gurmukhi. In between 5 hymns in Lande script also are available, which have been written by other writers, later, on the pages left blank. The Pothee shows 12 hymns as having been written by the 5th Guru. If all of them are counted the total comes to 293 hymns.

Now we try to deal with all the entries in the Pothee one by one in the order of their appearance, First of all we take up the page with Sammat because the user of the Pothee has to deal with this page before anything else.

1. The page with Sammat.

In the text of the Pothee from the first to the last pages the year of writing is given nowhere, but before the beginning of the text, immediately before it on a page, probably left blank initially and without a serial number, the year of writing is available. The writing of this page, the copy of which is being given below, shows that this page is significant not only for the mention of the

year of composition but also on account of some other pieces of information:

Ek onkar Satiguru prasadi
Sammatt 1652 Pothee likhi Guru Abi
Magh wadi 1
R Baabe Naamu kartaaru nirbhau nirikaar
Ajoonee sabhau l1l eh be
Guru Babe deeya sae Guru Angdae Ab
nae (?) deeya sae tiha peeeeya deeya sae ji koyee
Bani naali chitu layega so jeevan mu
Kt hogu tis de dovae thok savarnige su
Khaala hovaega kitae galae thureeagu na
Hi (?) muktu hovagu Guru passi jawgu
Parbrahmu Parmesru hae eisu mah
Sehsa subha mooli nahi eih gal va
ri Janani. Ji koyee asadi
hundi (?) vichah guru chhadi kae dooyae lagae
ga so avasi narki jayegu

I find the following information on this page:

- a) The Pothee was written in Sammat 1652 on Magh wadi 1
- b) The Pothee was written by Guru Amar Daas Ji.
- c) The three generations of the Gurus (Guru Nanak Dev, Guru Angad Dev and Guru Amar Daas) granted a boon that whosoever puts his faith in the Gurbani will have both his worlds blessed and will never suffer any lack.
- d) No doubt this bani is embodied by God Almighty Himself.
- e) If any one from our dynasty (the Bhallas?) takes shelter with any (non-Bhalla or Sodhi?), he will surely go to the hell.

There is no need to say that all these issues are relevant to the Pothee as well as important and many historical cues can be taken from behind the verbal veils. This also is obvious that in the mind/minds of the writer/writers, all these five issues were inter-connected because behind them some familial or communal tensions seem to be working. The matter to reflect upon is "why did the writer of this page need to announce that this Pothee had been blessed by the three generations of the Gurus or claim indirectly that this Pothee alone was the incarnation of the Almighty?" The implication is that if this assertion is made about some other Pothee it will be completely irrelevant. The explanation is that the writer of this page had to do all this due to the familial tension. Without the back-ground of the familial tension it will be difficult to explain why the writer on a page contiguous to or immediately before the start of the text forbids the people of his caste to follow the Gurus of another caste.

In my opinion the secret of this tension becomes immediately known if we presume that Guru Amar Daas Ji had already expired (1574 A.D.), which is apparent from the sentence about the three generation of the Gurus; that Guru Ram Daas Ji after his tenure as Guru had nominated Guru Arjan Dev as his heir and breathed his last (1581 A.D.); that in Amritsar Guru Arjan Dev Ji was planning or had already planned to prepare a new beed for his Sikhs and that its adoration and acceptance among the Sikh congregation had far exceeded the Pothee from Goindwal and many leading lights of Bhalla dynasty were paying obsequies at the feet of the Guru hailing from Sodhi dynasty.

I do not want to hastily conclude from this background that the writing of the text of the Pothee was started after the Aad

Beed had been compiled by Guru Arjan Dev Ji. We are discussing the page bearing the year of writing which can be said to have been written after the compilation of the Aad Beed. The time of the writing of the Pothee will be discussed in the next pages. If the background mentioned above is all-pervading, the reaction of the owner/owners will naturally be cautious. According to common sense the owner will try to prove that their Pothee is the original and the Pothee of Amritsar is its copy; that they are the primary people and the others are secondary; that their Pothee is fundamental and eternal, blessed by three generations of the Gurus, vested by the Almighty-rather it is the Almighty Himself²⁰; and the claim of the party from Amritsar that it is the incarnation of God is completely hollow etc. and these are the facts which this page bearing the year of writing and the blessing reveals direct or indirect.

The writer on one side looks forward to the congregation which comes to see the Pothee and makes an offering and on the other side he also had in his mind his offspring. He wants to convey the information written on this page to both the parties. He entices and invites one party with worldly and spiritual temptations. "..... If somebody puts his faith in the bani, he will enjoy salvation within this life, both his worlds will be blessed, he will be better off, will not be subjected to any scarcity he will be free and will go to his Guru.....". He wants to despatch the alleged culprits of the other party to the hell, ".....if somebody abandons the Guru from our family and follows another he will surely go to the hell" . That is why he has put this leaf in the beginning of the Pothee so that nobody may enter it without reading this page.

According to a specialist the text on the page bearing the year of writing is in the hand of the original writer of the Pothee, but so many entries in the Pothee are an interpolation. For instance:

- (A) 1st line: "Adoration with Ek onkar Prasadi" is an interpolation.
- (B) 2nd line: "Sammatt 1652... Guru Abi" is an interpolation.
- (C) 3rd line: "Magh Wadi 1: is an interpolation.
- (D) The initial words of the fourth line "R Baabe" which are the remainder of the 2nd line, are interpolation.
- (E) Some words on the right and left margin which had been obliterated or bedimmed have been rewritten or have been brought into relief by the fresh movement of the pen on some letters and this way their identity seems to have been changed.

The adoration in the first line is interpolation because this brief adoration has been used inside the Pothee 7 times including interpolated and incomplete use in Wadhans (the pges 38a, 47a, 102a, 135a, 145a and 206a of the Pothee may be examined), but in none of them the words Satiguru has been spelled as Satigur and Parsadu has nowhere been spelt as Parsadi. The spellings of Satgur and Prasadi have been instrumental in the detection of the interpolator's forgery. The forger has involuntarily used the spellings which had become current in the Sikh world after the compilation of Aad Beed by Guru Arjan Dev Ji. If on the top of the page the original writer had himself written both these words, undoubtedly he would have used the spellings which had been confirmed by his repeated writing. When the

forger abandons the spellings learnt by him and uses unconsciously the spellings of Guru Arjan Dev's beed, he also reveals that he had made this interpolation after the preparation of Guru Arjan Dev's beed when the spellings of the mool mantar had been accepted and affirmed in the Sikh world.

In the second line after giving the year of writing in figures, the information about the original writer of the Pothee was started but could not be completed due to the shortage of space. In the 3rd line the remaining part of the Sammat "Magh Wadi 1" has been completed by pushing it in between the second and the fourth line; and in the fourth line the second incomplete line has been completed.

Though the page with the Sammat is announcing from the roof-top that the year of writing has been added later, yet to settle this matter for good I had sent the enlargements of this and some other pages to my kind friend Mr. K.S. Puri so that I could know his opinion. His expertise in detecting the forgery in manuscripts has been recognised not only by the Supreme Court of this country but also by some foreign governments. After investigation Mr. Puri also is of the opinion that the year of writing has been added on the page written earlier by some other hand (please consult the first question in Puri Sahib's report in the 2nd addendum.

Leaving aside the initial forgery the complete sentence "Naamu Kartaaru Nirbhau to avas Narki Jaayegu" is in the same hand as had started writing Gurbani on the initial Page with raag Soohbi. But as Mr. Puri has hinted, this leaf and the Pothee were not written at the same time. The chronological order of the

entries on the page indicating the year of the composition of the Pothee will be as under: First Pothee; then the page bearing the blessings and the curse; and the, last of all , the year etc.

If one tries to know the real inner motive of the writer after removing the coating of this page one will reach this very conclusion that " the original and real Pothee of Gurbani is in our possession and that the honour that it deserves by virtue of its acceptance and whatever offerings are to be made to it should come to our pocket and not to that of our rivals."

The writer has presented his motives in the medieval religious idiom so that it goes straight to the mind of contemporary devotee. The following conclusions automatically present themselves from the page written by the writer whosever he was:

- A) The Bhalla Pothee had come as the rival of the Sodhi Beed. If, ever the Bhalla Pothee had the goodwill of friendliness or cooperation it had already come to an end.
- B) If the writer of the page with the year of composition and the initial text of the Pothee was the same person, as Mr. Puri has concluded, the writer must have been an individual of Bhalla sub-caste with a religious prestige, the words of blessing and curse from whose lips do not seem strange. Can this person be Sahansar Raam? This will be decided by the ensuing investigation of the Pothee in the next pages.

If one were to give the sum and substance of the entire above discussion, it will be as under:

- A) The initial page of the Pothee bearing Gurbani and the page bearing blessing and curse were written by the

same person but both these writings are not contemporary; the leaf is junior to the Pothee in age.

- B) The year of writing is forged and the purpose of the forgery was to prove the Pothee to be an earlier writing than the Aad beed of Sree Guru Arjan Dev Ji.
- C) According to the forged year (Sammatt 1652=1595 A.D.) Guru Amar Daas Ji had already expired (in 1574 A.D.); Guru Ram Daas Ji also had breathed his last (in 1581 A.D.) but the page contains the blessings of the first three Gurus and does not mention the name of the 4th Guru. By that time Guru Arjan Dev Ji had acceded to the seat of the Guruship but the page has ignored this fact also.
- D) The original writer of this page and the Pothee was himself from the Bhalla sub-caste and enjoyed sufficient prestige among the people of his caste.
- E) It is not difficult to feel a dim expression of the unfulfilled ambition for guruship in the sentence structure and style of this page.

2. The titles of the Pothee.

The real beginning of the Pothee is on page 1a²¹ with Guru Nanak's famous hymn ":Bhada dhoye baesi dhoopee devaho tau dudhae kau jawaho" (Bhanda dhoye baesi dhoop devaho tau doodhae kau jawho²²). But before this hymn there is the title which includes adoration, raag and the writer. As will be known from some ensuing titles of the Pothee, at some places there is indication of meters and poetical forms. Such pieces of information are available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib also.

Therefore, it will be appropriate to scan all types of information available in the titles and that they may be compared and contrasted side by side with the titles given in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. It is hoped that this comparison of every part will throw a fuller, more comprehensive and more helpful light on the inter-relationship between the Pothee and the Aad Beed. The first and foremost element as per the sequence, is the adoration. Therefore, we first of all study the adoration of the Pothee.

A] The Adoration in the titles .

On the top of the initial page of the Pothee that is lb the adoration has been given. This adoration is nothing but the text of the mool mantar, which describes the Almighty and His attributes and informs that He can be attained by the grace of the Guru. The use of "Om Gneshay Namah" has been avoided. It has not been considered essential' to pay obeisance to Vishnu; nor has Sarswati, the Goddess of art and literature been remembered. Only the entire text of mool mantar has been given. Inside the Pothee shorter forms of this mantar are also available. In all six different forms of adoration can be seen in the Pothee, which have been used at 36 different places. The detail is as under:

A] For the full mool mantar you may see pages lb, 12b,

39b, 55b, 62b, 85b, 104b, 119b, 138b, 151b, 168b, 196b,

216b, 222b, 242b, 268a and 294b. The total. = 18

B] Only Ek Onkar: 29a, 53b, 54a and 108a. The total = 4

C] Ek onkar Satiguru Parsadu: 38a, 47a, 82b, 102a, 135a,

145b and 206a. The total = 7.

D] Ek. Onkar Satiguru : 61b, 149b, 208b and 265b. Total=4.

E] satGuru parsadi: 287b and 300b. Total=2.

F] Satiguru Satiguru: 278a. Total=1

Grand Total = 36

The Pothee contains a total of 293 hymns²³. It includes deleted writings²⁴. But out of these only 36 have adoration; the remaining hymns are written without any adoration.

Almost every type of adoration has difference of spellings. The knowledge of these differences can be useful in making some guesses about the Pothee. Therefore, first of all we pay attention to these differences.

In the class of complete mool mantar the following different forms can be seen :

(1) On page 1b the initial adoration is written in 6 lines: "EK Onkar Satiguru Parsadu (Parsaadu) Sachu Namu (Naamu) Kartaaru (Kartaaru) Nirbhau Nirikaar Akal (Akaal) Murti (Mooratee) Ajoonee Saabhau (Sanbhau)". This mantar is different from the mool mantar in Sree Guru Granth Sahib in many significant details, as is evident from the following comparison:

Pothee.	Sree Guru Granth Sahib
Ek Onkar	Ek Onkar
Satiguru	X

Parsadu	X
Sachu	Sati
Namu	Naamu
Kartaru	Karta
X	Purakhu
Nirbhu	Nirbhau
Nirikaru	X
X	Nirvaeru
Akal	Akaal
Murti	Mooratee
Ajoonee	Ajoonee
Saabhau	Saebhang
X	Gur
X	Prasaadi

During the medieval period to which our Pothee is related in time the attention of the researchers of the Sikh literature will naturally be diverted towards Baba Pirthi Chand's (Guru Sahib) and Manohar Daas's (Guru Meharbaan's) writings because they too have tried to take liberty with the mool mantar written in Sree Guru Granth Sahib²⁵. This form of the original mool mantar given in the Pothee creates serious problems for the Sikh researchers. If the Pothee belongs to a period before

the compilation of the Aad Beed by Guru Arjun Dev Ji, should one not take its mool mantar also as more acceptable, it having been written prior to the Aad Beed? Is it the original mool mantar, which had been prevalent since the time of Guru Nanak Dev Ji? Had Guru Ram Daas Ji or Guru Arjan Dev Ji edited the mool mantar? Was it a label of distinction for the parties deviating or having deviated from the main stream of Sikhism, by adorning which at the top of their writing they were announcing their separation?

This editor had tried to draw the special attention of the Sikh scholars towards this problem through his article "The real form of the mool mantar" at a seminar held on the 'bani jap' on 2.2.1992 by Guru Nanak foundation, New Delhi, and had also expressed his resolve to continue his research. But it is a pity that due to some other pre-occupations he has not been able to carry his research to a decisive stage. In the meanwhile Dr. Pyar Singh tried to extricate this research from the sphere of conjecture and to give it a definite direction through his great research book "Gaatha Sree Aad Granth". In spite of this effort the writer of these lines feels that there is scope for more research. It is hoped that an investigative study of the Pothee will help in bringing a dependable reply to this question within our reach.

On page 39b in the complete mool mantar, the writer has written the words Satiguru Parsadi twice after EK Onkar and has written Gur Parsadi for the 3rd time at the end of Sabhau. A copy of this form is given below:

"EK Onkar Satiguru Parsadi Satiguru Parsadi Sachu Namu Kartaru Nirbho Nirikaru Akaal Mooratee Ajoonee Sabhau Guru Parsadi".

On page 62b, at the end of the complete mool mant a full stop followed by a figure '1' between two straight lines has been given.

On pages 85b and 119b in the mool mantar the words Gur Parsadu have been given after Ek Onkar as well as after Ajoonee Sabhau. On page 168b this has again been repeated but there is a full stop after Sanbhau and then it is followed by Gur Parmadu (Parsadu), as if the mool mantar had been concluded with the words Sanbau and Gur Parmad (Parsad) were its extension.

On pages 138b and 271b, word 'Poora' has been added to the mool mantar "Ek Onkar Satiguru Parsad Poora Sach". Here, the word 'Poora' can have two meanings: The first, that the writer has a writing before him and is copying it and that after writing the word Ek Onkar he is instructing the next copyist to follow it up with complete adoration and not to content himself with its abridged form; the second meaning can be that the word 'Poora' was written as an epithet for the Satiguru without caring that there was a word Parsadu after Satiguru. It seems that the word 'Poora' added here was not an identification for Satiguru like the preceding "Babe Patisah" but was written as a direction for the person who copies the Pothee next.

On page 196b the word Sanbhau is followed by a full stop and figure I had an other full stop mark. Next to it are the words Gur parsad. The words Gur Parsad have been repeated after the

mool mantar on page 216b also but without any punctuation. On the pages 222b, 242b and 268a, the ending 'Gur Parsadu' seems to be a part of the mool mantar.

On page 294b, the writer has made a conscious effort to relate the concept of the bodiless Satiguru with a particular person, If somebody asks "which Satiguru?" The writer will answer "Baba Patshah; who else? and Baba Patsah (Babe Patmah) implies Guru Nanak Dev²⁶ Ji as the scholarly reader can himself verify from the Pothee. This page 294b has the following form of the mool mantar:

Ek Onkar Satiguru Parsadu Babe Patimah

Sach Namu Kartaru Nirbhau niri

Karu Akaal Mooratee Ajoonee Sanbhau

After considering the different forms of complete mool mantar in the Pothee one comes to know that:

* The standard form of the mool mantar for the people associated with the Pothee at the time of its writing must be as under:

"Ek Onkar Satiguru Parsadu Sachunamu Kartaar Nirbhau Nirikaar Akaal Mooratee Ajoonee Sanbhau".

* Even the same writer could not be uniform in the use of vowel symbols; it was quite natural for different writers to differ.

* Some people considered Ek Onkar Satiguru Prasad to be initial abridged mantar to be written or spoken at the beginning of any action. It should be supposed that Ek Onkar Satiguru Prasad had become a different and shorter adoration to

replace the mool mantar. That is why they added words Gur Prasaad as an extension of the mool mantar instead of concluding it with the word Sanbhau at the end. If we presume like this, the problem of repetition of the words Satigur Prasaad is solved automatically.

* Another fact also comes to light that among the Pothee-owners, the form of the mool mantar had not been established in such a way and the sanctity of the current form had not been associated so deeply with the sanctity of sentiments that if a writer committed any mistake in the use of vowel-symbols or spellings or if he knowingly or unknowingly disturbed the sequence of letters he was arraigned as a culprit for religious sin of violating the divine sanctity.

We have already seen the various forms of the full mool mantar available in the Pothee. We are yet to discuss its abridged forms. First of all we take up the use of only 'Ek Onkar' as an adoration.

(ii) In Sikh literature the smallest and the easiest form of adoration is this use of EK Onkar. The ancient Sikh interpreters used to consider this faith in one to be the basis of all beliefs and dogmas of Sikh religion. That is why it has its independent identity as adoration as well as is the initial part of the mool mantar as adoration. The writer of these lines thinks that as a title, this form has

been used less as abridged form of the mool mantar and more as a blessing, a benediction and auspicious religious symbol; just as some Hindu dedicated writers write 'Om' at the top of their small or large creation and Muslim writers use 786 which in Abjad, the numerical script in Arabic, is an indicator of Bismillah (Bismillah=B+ism+allah= starting with the name of Allah).

The use of only Ek Onkar in the title is available only once in Sree Guru Granth Sahib on page 1353.

(iii) The abridged form, Ek Onkar Satiguru Parsadu comes in sight first of all on page 38a of the Pothee where it is followed by its incomplete form Ek Onkar Satgur Pars; while its better form is available on page 47a, 82b, 102a, 135a, 145b and 206a, though similarity is not their main trait. Inspite of mutual differences this is the most standard abridged form of full mool mantar because access attained through the grace of Brahm and the Guru with all its philosophical elaboration is available here in capsule form. What other brief form than this could be available to the followers of the Guru ? That is why this form has been used in Guru Granth Sahib 525 times whereas out of the other four forms (Ek onkar satinaam karata purakhu nirbhau nirvaeru akaal mooratee ajoonee saebhang gur prasaadi; EK onkar satinaam karta purkhu gur prasaadi; Ek onkar satinaam gur prasaadi and only

EK onkar) available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib the form of adoration in form of the complete mool mantar has been used for the maximum times of 33.

(iv,v & vi) There is no need of paying special attention to other abridged types. Only it will be sufficient to say that their use has received almost negative response from our ancient scholars or writers. For instance they have not been used even once in Sree Guru Granth Sahib.

Alongwith this, we should also try to understand the method assumed by the writer/writers of the Pothee regarding use of adoration of different types at different places. Some of the rules of this method seem to be as under:-

- * The effort will be that the adoration should be given the top-most place whereas the other pieces of information like raag (the writer, poetic form, metre or tune will occupy a secondary place).
- * It is not essential to give adoration atop every hymn. The adoration given atop a group of hymns can be considered to cover all hymns till the next use of the adoration.
- * The start of the Pothee in any case will be with adoration in form of mool mantar.
- * It is essential to have the umbrella of the full mool mantar in the beginning of every new raag
- * Under a raag if the metre or the poetic form changes, the full mool mantar will be used.

* Under a raag at the place where the bani of the Bhagats commences full mool mantara will be used.

[8] Comparison of the pieces

of adoration information.

Now we shall compare and contrast the mode of adoration, keeping in view the hymns of the Pothee, with that used in the Sree Guru Granth Sahib. The non-existence of the hymns of the Pothee in Sree Guru Granth Sahib has been shown by drawing a cross (x). This list can be seen in the third addendum.

The examples given in the addendum show that in the Pothee as well as Sree Guru Granth Sahib full mool mantar has been used to start every new raag. Full mool mantra has been used in the beginning of all the 8 raags (Sohdi, Parbhaatee. Dhanaasree, Basant Bhaero, Maaroo, Kedaara and Tilang) in Pothee as well as Sree Guru Granth Sahib. With the exception of this one similarity what remains behind is dis-similarity between the Pothee and Sree Guru Granth Sahib. In the Pothee full mool mantar has been used in the beginning of Chhands (Chhants) and Astpadies except the Astpadis of raaga Dhanasari (see page 145b). At the places where the Astpadies are there but the title of Astpadis has not been given, as for instance on page 47 a intimation about the Astpadi along with Soohi by the third Guru has not been given, full mool mantar has not been used; but Sree Guru Granth Sahib has not followed this practice of Pothee. In the Pothee when after the hymns of the first Guru in

raaga Soohi, the bani of the 3rd Guru has been started, full mool mantar has been used (see page 39b). but it has not been done so in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. When the bani of the Bhagats starts, the writer of the Pothee gives complete mool mantra at the top but in Sree Guru Granth Sahib this mode has not been adopted. Almost the same conclusion is arrived at, from the remaining five types of adoration:

- * Guru Arjan Dev Ji has not allowed three types (Ek onkar Satigroo, Satiguru prasadi and Satiguru Satiguru) to be used in his compilation.

- * The type of 'Ek onkar' has been used four times in the pothti but is has been used only once in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. But the two hymns of the Pothee do not exist in Sree Guru Granth Sahib and the other two hymns in Sree Guru Granth Sahib do not have any adoration atop.

- * "Ek Onkar Satiguru Prasadu" has been used in the the Pothee 7 times. Two hymns out of these do not exist in Guru Granth Sahib; atop one the Guru Ji has not given any adoration while there is a similarity between the Pothee and Sree Guru Granth Sahib in respect of the remaining four hymns. This is the adoration, which Guru Arjan Dev Ji liked very much and which has been used in Sree Guru Gnanth Sahib 525 times.

Besides these there is another great difference. 8 out of 36 hymns with adoration in the Pothee do not exist in Sree Guru Granth Sahib while no adoration has been used atop 5 out of the remaining 28 hymns. In the Pothee, in respect of only one out of 23 hymns, the raag precedes the adoration. This is the hymn in the Pothee which has been written by some other hand (208b).

As compared with it, in Sree Guru Granth Sahib, in case of 3 out of 23 hymns adoration has been used prior to the raag. In case of the remaining 20 hymns at least in writing, adoration has been given priority²⁷.

[C] The Essence.

The essence of the above comparative study in respect of adoration in the Pothee and Sree Guru Granth Sahib is that though the compiler of the Pothee and Sree Guru Arjan Dev Ji accepted the ancient Indian convention of giving the adoration and also agreed on the use of the full mool mantar in the beginning of every new raag in addition to the beginning of the book, yet there is no other agreement. Therefore, it is natural to take this forceful impression from the above comparative study of the adoration that Guru Arjan Dev Ji had not accepted the guidance of the Pothee at least in this matter. Not only this, but he has also announced clearly, his independence from the Pothee, by using firmly and uniformly a separate form of adoration instead of the one used in the Pothee.

3. Intimation of the Raags in the Title.

The adorations do not have so straight, so deep and so intimate a relationship with the Pothee as the raags indicated therein. Adoration is a formal title while the title containing the raags also directs the usage. The title containing the raag instructs the singer or the reciter that the ensuing hymn should be sung only in the given raag. The medieval Bhagat-poets had made Bhagti as a part or an emotional component of the mental growth of the people and discovered an effective instrument in the collective singing of the bani. That is why the raag had been

given priority in many contemporary bani collections of the Bhagti movement. The singers or the reciters have made a concrete contribution to bringing us the writings of well-known anchorites and Bhagats. Very sensible hints are available in the writings of Dr. Callewaert on how besides preserving these writings in memory, these professional groups have affected the writings of the Saints in various ways²⁸. On whether and how the singer groups have influenced the medieval metrical writings of Punjab, some department of some University carrying on research in the raags should try to throw light. Here we mention the raags indicated in the headings of the Pothee and will try to compare and contrast them with the indications available in the titles of Sree Guru Granth Sahib.

As has already been mentioned the compiler of the Pothee has arranged the entire bani to be included in the compilation according to the raags. In the extant Pothee the raags have been arranged in the following order.

- * Soohbi (Soohi)
- * Wadhas (Wadhans)
- * Parbhati (Parbhaatee)
- * Dhansari (Dhanaasree)
- * Malar (Malaar)
- * Basant
- * Bhaero
- * Aasa

- * Maaroo
- * Kedaara
- * Bilaawal
- * Tilang
- * Goojari

Total raagas = 13

Out of the above 13 raags, 5 (Wadhans, Malaar, Goojari and Aasa) have entered the Pothee through interpolations; they are not a fundamental part of the Pothee. If Tilang also is added to them about which there is a lot of doubt, the original raags will be only 7 i.e. Soohi, Parbhaatee, Dhanaasree, Basant, Bhaero, Maaroo and Kedaara.

It is worth noting that the sequence of the raags in the Pothee is not the same as in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. There, these 7 raags are arranged in the following order :

Dhanaasree, Soohi, Maaroo, kedaara, Bhaeroo, Basant and Parbhaatee.

Out of the above mentioned 13 raags, 7 have subordinate raags also under them. The Tilang raag has no subordinate raag. The detail of the subordinate raags is as under:

The Principal Raags	Subordinate Raags.
* Raag Soohi	* Soohi Dakhani
* Raag Parbhaatee	* Parbhaatee Dakhani
	Parbhaatee Lalat

* Dhanaasree Gadaao	* Dhanaasree Pasto Maaroo
	* Dhanaasree Dakhani
* Basant	* Basant Dakhani
* Bhaero	* Bhaero Dakhani
* Maaroo	* Maaroo Kedaara
* Kedaara	* Kedaar Mooru (Kedaara Maaroo)

(If we consider the last two raags in the list of the subordinate raags to be the same, the total number will come to 8 instead of 9.)

In Sree Guru Granth Sahib also there are subordinate raags under the principal raags. If all these subordinate raags are added to the principal 31 raages of the Guru Granth Sahib, as had been calculated by the late expert of the Guabani music Professor Tara Singh the total number will come to 63²⁹. If Professor Tara Singh's mode is applied to the Pothee the total number of raags will amount to 21 or 22³⁰.

A) **A comparison of the indications of the Raags.**

As the adorations in the Pothee have been compared with those in Sree Guru Granth Sahib, now in the same way we shall contrast the indications of raags in the titles of both scriptures. For reference, the list of all the raag-indications can be seen in the fourth addendum.

Out of 293 hymns in the Pothee 286 have the indication of the raag. Out of these, 25 hymns are from outside Guru Granth Sahib. (Look at the S. Nos. 22, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 47, 48, 49, 84,

85, 106, 123, 134, 135, 178, 179, 191, 225, 226, 227, 251, 268, 280 and 290. Out of the remaining 261 hymns in Sree Guru Granth Sahib, 49³¹ hymns do not have any raag indication (Look at S. Nos. 125 to 127, 129 to 133, 136, 138, 180, 181, 183, 186, 188, 189, 191, 227, 228, 230, to 232, 236 to 238, 240 to 249, 251 to 254, 268, 271, 272, 274, 275, 277, 278, 280, 281 and 283 in the fourth addendum). Out of the 6 hymns which have no raag indication in the Pothee, 3 hymns are devoid of any raag-indication in Sree Guru Granth Sahib also remaining 3 hymns in Sree Guru Granth Sahib have a title (Look at the S. Nos. 3, 155 and 223 in the fourth addendum). But the remaining 3 hymns in Sree Guru Granth Sahib have raag titles (book at at the S. No. 3, 155 and 223). The raag titles on 6 hymns are at variance in the Pothee and Sree Guru Granth Sahib (Look at the S.No. 72, 73, 86, 96, 270 and 282). IN 47 raag-indications in Sree Guru Granth Sahib the name of the raag is accompanied by the 'House' (Ghar) of the raag also; for instance on page 1-b, Soohi House No.1 has been given instead of only Soohbi (Soohi); one page 2b, Soohi House No. 2 has been given instead of Soohi alone and the page 5b, gives Soohi House No. 6 instead of only Soohi. At s. nos. 1 to 5 in the above addendum the writer of Pothee has used the word soohi only. Atop 22 hymns in the Pothee the subordinate raags also have been given. This list does not include Kedaar-Maaroo, Maroo Kedaara and Kedaara Mooroo (s. no.271, 276 and 283). One out of the above 22 hymns (s. no. 22 of the fourth addendum) is not available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib and the 4 hymns are such, that the raag given is different (S.No. 72, 73, 86 and 96.) In the remainig 17 hymns Sree Guru Granth Sahib gives principal raag instead of subordinate raag. On the contrary also, there are hymns, which

the Pothee writer has placed under principal raag while in Sree Guru Granth Sahib, they have been placed under subordinate raags. (For examples, look at s. nos. 38, 77, 143, 144, 145, 159, 170 and 184 of the fourth addendum). In the beginning of 8 hymns in the Pothee the writer has given indications or instructions about their singing (For the samples of this type look at S.Nos. 15 to 21 and 102 in the fourth addendum). But Sree Guru Granth Sahib does not give these indications about them. The spellings of many raag titles differ; as for example there are 47 hymns of raag Parbhaatee in the Pothee and every-where it is written as Parbhaatee but in Sree Guru Granth Sahib 40 times out of 41 Parbhaatee has been written as parbhaatee. Similarly, wherever Sree Guru Granth Sahib has the title of raag Bhaero the same spellings i.e. Bhaeroo has been used, But in the Pothee at some places, it is Bhaero and at others it is bhaerau.

It is not only in the matter of this raag; in every raag the sequence of hymns in the Pothee is different from that in Sree Guru Granth Sahib, as we shall see in the next pages. If we ignore all above differences between the Pothee and Sree Guru Granth Sahib what is left behind will be their similarity.

B) The Essence.

Keeping in view the nature of differences of the raag-indications in the titles and their totality, it can be said that Guru Arjan Dev Ji had some independent source of the bani, apart from the Pothee, from which he was copying; otherwise the difference which is there in the titles of the raags would not have been there.

4) Injunctions to the Singers of the Bani

In the Pothee there are 7 hymns of raag Soohi in the beginning of which the name of the tune has been indicated for the guidance of the singers. In the first 3 references, the first line of the basic hymn (to be used as tune) has been given after the name of the raag and before the first line of the hymn, but it has not been mentioned why it has been given there. For example:

- * Soohi ham ghari sajan aaye (page 17b).
- * Soohi aavaho sajna dars (page 19a).
- * Soohi avaho sajan, darsanu, daekhu ter ram (page 21a).

But in the next 4 references the first line of the hymn has been given and it is followed by the hymn in the tune of which it is to be sung: for example:

- * Soohi avho sajna darsanu dekhan ter (tera) ram (Raam); chhad (chhand), etu dhan (dhun) gawan (gaawan) parthaye, hoye (page 23a).
- * Soohi avaho Sajan darsanu dekh (dekha) ter (tera) etu parthaye hoye (page 25a).
- * Soohi avho sajan darsanu dekh (dekha) ter (tera) etu parthaye hoye (page 27a).
- * Soohi avaho sajan darsan dekh (dekha) ter (tera) pharthaye (page 29a).

It automatically becomes clear from the instructions given in the above 4 hymns as to why the line had been placed in the beginning of the first 3 hymns.

On page 124a, the nature of the entry made atop a hymn in raag Dhanaasree (choru salaahae chitu na bheejae) is different from the above 7 entries, which seems to give an indication rather than an instruction-'Chaubare gaave pehl raag Dhanaasree'. The straight meaning of this entry is that this hymn should be first of all sung in an attic and that it should be sung in raag Dhanaasree. But this meaning is not gratifying because if the hymn is first sung in the indicated raag at some other place than the attic the hymn will not get defiled. Does the writer want to say that this was the hymn, which was sung in raag Dhanaasree for the first time in the newly constructed attic? If this quotation can be taken to mean that, we can hope to identify the writer more easily and it can also help in knowing the age of the Pothee. All the hymns which have atop them instructions regarding singing them in a certain tune are written by Guru Amar Daas. The attic in the contemporary Sikh literature is associated with Guru Amar Daas Ji's son Baba Mohan. Who can give the information regarding the hymns first sung in the attic? It can be given only by Baba Mohan himself or by one of his close relatives or one of his attendants. As per the conjecture, this information reached Baba Sahansar Raam or who so ever the writer of the Pothee was through Baba Mohan, and he, for remembrance wrote, or got it written atop the hymn. If this guess is not correct the meaning of the writing is best known to God Almighty. Does the word 'chaubara' (attic) of Pothee any way link itself with the attic of Guru Nanak Dev (pudu dharti pudu pani aasanu chari kunt chaubara-page 596)?

The quotations regarding the mode of singing are

S. No.	Page	The Raas	Title	The first line of the hymn	The Writer
	Pothee				
(i)	44a	Soohi	Soohi jiguru dakhani	Manaho naamu visaari ehn dhiaayee	r The Guru 31
(ii)	45a	Ditto	Soohi jiguru	Hari jeeo sookhamu sookhamu agamu hae kitu bidhi milya jaye.	Ditto
(iii)	61b	Ditto	Soohi jigaru	Jis Kaaran tanu manu jaalia.	Sekh Saraf

given above the hymns. The two hymns from above which they have been removed are available in the Pothee; the hymn 'ham ghari saajna aaye' is on page 14b and the hymn 'ghari aavho saajna darsanu dakhah tera Raam' is on page 16a. both these hymns have been written by Guru Amar Daas Ji.

4] Comparison of Instructions.

Both the hymns which serve as bases and , as has been said, 8 hymns with tune instructions are available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib also. They are shown there to have been written by Guru Amar Daas Ji, as in the Pothee³². But none of them has above it the information containing instructions regarding the tune. The convention of giving the tune is there in Sree Guru Granth Sahib³³, but there, the nature of the tunes is completely different. For one thing these tunes are connected with the singing of the vaars and secondly they point towards certain tunes which were popular among the people. They do not point to the style of singing the hymns which are available in the Pothee.

Another word 'jigur' is available in the headings, the secret of which has not so far been known. It has been used thrice in the Pothee. The detail of the raags and the hymns above which this word has been written is being given in the ensuing pages:

Please see in Sree Guru Granth Sahib, page 764 respectively the pages 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772 and 662 [Both the hymns serve as basis].

Kindly see the following table for the tunes given in Sree Guru Granth Sahib.

- [i] Vaar maajh ki tatha slok mahala 1 malak mureed, tatha Chandrahada Ki dhuni gavani [page 137]
- [ii] Gaudi Ki Vaar Mahala 5 Raye Kamaal di Mojadi Ki, Vaar ki dhuni upari gavani [page 318]
- [iii] Vaar Sloka Naali slok bhi Mahale Pehle ke likhe, Tunde Asraajae ki dhuni [page 462]

- [iv] Goojari Ki Vaar Mahala 3 Sikandar Biraahim Ki, Vaar dhuni gaoni [page 508]
- [v] Wadhans Ki Vaar Mahala 4 Lala Behleema ki dhuni gaavani [page 585]
- [vi] Raamkali Ki Vaar Mahala 3. Jodhae Veere poorbani ki dhuni [page 947]
- [vii] Saarang Ki Vaar Mahala 4 Raye nehme Aasne ki dhuni [page 1237]
- [viii] Malaar Ki Mahala 1 Raane Kaelaas tatha Maalde Ki Vaar Mahala 4 moose Ki Vaar ki dhuni [page 1312]

(The first two hymns are not available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib; Sekh Saraf 's poetry has not been entered)

The word 'Jigur' is written neither on the above hymns nor any other hymn in the entire Sh. Guru Granth Sahib. It should not be strange if this word with unknown meanings is associated with the mode of singing the hymns.

The Pothee does not contain any writing in the form of vaar. At the most, specimen of the first 3 stanzas of Assa di vaar are there which are written in some other hand and they can be given the misleading name of vaar. The nine vaars along with the instructions regarding tunes are available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. Just because those vaars do not exist in the Pothee, the instructions regarding singing them are also missing. Similarly, the tunes which are mentined in the Pothee are not to be found in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. Therefore if we make the instructions

or intimations to the singers the touchstone and assume so much of mutual similarity between the Pothee and Sree Guru Granth Sahib that we accept the Pothee to be the basic form or a great source of Sree Guru Granth Sahib, it will be a negation of truth.

4] The raags of the Pothee.

What has been said about the information of the raags in the titles of the Pothee and Sree Guru Granth Sahib has not perhaps made the picture of every raag of the Pothee as clear as it should have been. Therefore, it seems necessary to provide information about every raag as it had been done in case of raag Soohi by giving some data; and as far as possible, it may be, side by side, compared with Sree Guru Granth Sahib. So now we will examine the detail of the Pothee based on raags.

A] Soohi.

The first raag in the Pothee is Soohi which has been written as Soohbi in the titles of pages 1b and 4b, as has already been mentioned. I do not know if the word Soohbi has been used in the old Punjabi literature anywhere except the Pothee but in the discussion held by Bhaatkhande in the 4th part of his Sangeet Shastra Sooha, suhaw and suhwi have been considered almost a single raag³⁴. In the Pothee the terms soohbi and Soohi have been used as synonyms. Therefore, it is clear that upto the time of the writing of the Pothee, among the expert musicians the word soohbi also was considered equivalent of raag soohi. In Sree Guru Granth Sahib. Soohi raag occurs at S.No. 15 and the title nowhere contains the word soohbi.

The Pothee contains a total of 48 hymns in raag soohi whereas in Sree Guru Granth Sahib the number of hymns in this

raag is 141, out of these, if we ignore 23 hymns composed by the 4th Guru and 74 hymns composed by the 5th Guru the remainder in Sree Guru Granth Sahib is 44 hymns; If we compare 48 hymns in the Pothee with the 44 hymns in Sree Guru Granth Sahib the following points come to our notice:

(i) The Pothee contains 11 hymns composed by Sree Guru Nanak De Ji³⁵ while number in Guru Granth Sahib is 22 i.e. double the number contained in the Pothee.

(ii) Out of these extra 11 hymns 8 are available in the same raag in the Pothee but under different headings. One hymn in the Pothee (jin kau bhadae bhaau tinan savarsi-page 10b) is presumed to have been written by Sree Guru Angad Dev Ji and the following 7 hymns are supposed to have been written by the 3rd Guru.

- * Jap tap ka bandhu betula jitu langheh wahela (page 9a)
- * Bhaada hacha so jo tis bhaavsi (page 10b)
- * Jini keeya tane dekhia jago dhandhadae laaya (pag 32b)
- * Mera manu raata gun ravee mani bhaawae soyee (page 34a)
- * Manaho na namu visaari ehnisi dhiaayae (page 44a)
- * Maanas janmu dulanbhu gurmukhi paaya (page 51b)
- * Jeo aarani loha taaye bhani ghadaayee (page 52b)

(iii) Two out of Guru Nanak's remaining three hymns ('jogu na khintha jogu na dande jogu na bhasm chadhaayae'-page 730 and 'kaun taraaji kavanu tula tera kavanu saraafu bulaawa'-

page 730) have been given under raag Parabhati at S. No. 23 and 24 in the Pothee but the 21st hymn ('Jo deesae gur sikhada tisu nivi nivi laagau paaye jeeo' page 763 of Sree Guru Sahib) does not exist in the Pothee under any title, writer or raag given above the hymns.

(iv) The Pothee contains 19 hymns of the 3rd Guru but according to Sree Guru Granth Sahib there are only 11 hymns and 1 var composed by him in this raag. The var of Guru Amar Daas Ji (Soohae vesi dohaagani par piru raavan jaave-page 785) is not available in the Pothee. Similarly one hymn given in the Pothee (Kari laalach manu lobhaana keon kari chhutyae Ji-page 30b) is not available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib.

(v) Just as the above hymn of the 3rd Guru given in the Pothee is not available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib, in the same way the following 8 hymns given in the Pothee are not available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib :

- * Gulaam: Pir kae rangi rati sohaagani andinu raliya maanae (page 53b).

- * Gulaam : Mae avganiaari ko gunu nahi (page 54a)

- * Sada Sewak : Pir kae sangi rati sohaagani andinu raliya maane (page 54b)

- * Gulaam : Pake mandap mehal hajaara (page 55a)

- * Kabir : Jaese rangu supne nidhi paayee manu hi manu samaana (page 55b)

- * Kabir : Kusalu kusalu kari sabhu jagu binsia padeo kaal ki phaasi (page 60b)

* Namdev : Maat kahae mere putra ghari anni keo sarasi
(page 61a)

* Saraf : Jis kaarani tanu manu jaalia (page 61b)

(vi) In this raag of the Pothae there are 5 hymns by Kabir Ji. Two out of these (Jaese rangu supnae nidhi payee manu hi Manu samaana -page 55b) and (Kusalu kusalu kari sabhu jaga binxa padiao kaal kee phaasee-page 60b), as has been indicated in the list above, are not available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. Similarly two hymns by Kabir Ji available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib (Thaake naen sravan suni thaake thaaki sundri kaaya-page 793) and (Eku kotu panch sikdaara panche maagaeh hala-(same page) are found in raag Parbhaatee.

(vii) A hymn by Farid Ji (tapi tapi luyee hath marodae/tapi tapi luhi hath marorau) has been written twice in the Pothae and there are some small differences between the two. The writer or some later pen has deleted the first hymn but while calculating the number it has been accounted for as a complete hymn. The figures at the end of the first deleted hymn are ||3||5|| and the figures at the end of the second are /4/9. In this way placing the one at S.No. 5 and the other at S.No.9, both have been accounted for in the calculation. In fact the number of the hymns by Farid Ji comes to only 2 but the miscalculating of the Pothae has made it 3. Sree Guru Granth Sahib does not have this repetition and the number there is 2.

It is clear from the above details of the raag Soohi that the Pothae and Sree Guru Granth Sahib are not at one about the writers, the number of hymns and as we shall see later the sequence of the hymns. Sree Guru Granth Sahib has neither

admitted all the writers of the Pothee, nor has accepted all the hymns given therein. The conclusion is self-evident.

B] Wadhans.

At present raag Wadhans is at s. no.2 in the Pothee. Under this raag one hymn by the first Guru is written in Lande script on page 38a. By writing this hymn on a page lying blank, the hymns of raag Soohi have been bifurcated. The first line of this hymns is :

'kay kad vagad keh bab nayau'.

This hymn can be seen on page 565 in Sree Guru Granth Sahib (Kaaya koodi vigaadi kaahe naayiae).

This random hymn has not been written by any writer of the Pothee; it is an interpolation. Therefore, it does not call for any further discussion.

C] Parbhaatee.

In the Pothee the conclusion of raag Soohi is followed by raag Parbhaatee starting on page 62b. This raag continues upto the page 113b. There is no page left blank between the conclusion of raag Soohi and the beginning of raag Parbhaatee but inside and at the end of this raag, there are as many as 10 blank pages (80b, 81b, 82a, 84b, 85a, 86b, 88b, 89b, 103b and 104a).

The Pothee contains a total number of 47 hymns in raag Parbhaatee. In Sree Guru Granth Sahib where the S.No. of this raag is the 30th, there are 20 hymns more than those in the Pothee i.e. there are 67 hymns. Out of these, 7 are by Guru Ram

Daas Ji and 18 by Guru Arjan Dev Ji. If these 25 hymns are kept outside the purview of the present deliberations on raag Parbhaatee, as compared with the 47 hymns of the Pothee there will be only 42 hymns in Sree Guru Granth Sahib.

If we compare and contrast the 42 hymns of Sree Guru Granth Sahib with 47 hymns of the Pothee, we come to know that :

(i) There are 17 hymns by Sree Guru Nanak De Ji under the raag Parbhaatee in the Pothee whereas Sree Guru Granth Sahib contains 24 hymns by him. 7 hymns which are extra in Sree Guru Granth Sahib are shown in the Pothee as composed by the 3rd Guru.

(ii) The Pothee contains a total of 17 hymns by Guru Amar Daas Ji while Sree Guru Granth Sahib has only 9 hymns by him. 8 out of these 9 hymns are common with the Pothee while 1 hymn (Mere man guru apna saalaahi-page 1334) does not exist in the Pothee.

(iii) Two hymns in the Pothee (Kavanu taraji kavanu tola tera kavanu saraaf bulaava-page 82b) and (Jogu na khitha jogu naahi dandae jogu naahi bhasm chadaayiae-page 83a) under raag Parbhaatee Lalta have been shown as composed by the 3rd Guru while in Sree Guru Granth Sahib they are given as composed by the first Guru and have already been considered under raag Soohi.

(iv) The Pothee contains two compositions in raag Parbhaatee by Gulaam : Sehj bhaaye milaaya guri poorae vichaho haumae khoyee-page 102a) and Aapnae vasi keeto nu sabh kichhu hor su vathi kichhu naahi-page 102b), but as it has

been observed in the detail of raag Soohi, this writer failed to find a place in Sree Guru Granth Sahib.

(v) The Pothee has 7 hymns by Bhagat Kabir Ji while Sree Guru Granth Sahib has only 5 by him. The remaining two hymns : Thaake naen..... kaaya-page 793 of Sree Guru Granth Sahib and Eku kotu panch sickdara panche mageh hala-page 793 of Sree Guru Granth Sahib) have been considered in raag Soohi.

(vi) The Pothee contains subordinate raags of Parbhaatee dakhani and Parbhaatee Lalta in addition to the principal raag Parbhaatee but Sree Guru Granth Sahib does not have the subordinate raag of Parbhaatee Lalta.

The above details show that in the entries of this raag also the Pothee and Sree Guru Granth Sahib have quite serious mutual differences. The quantity of disagreement between them as compared with that of their agreement is larger.

D] Dhanaasree.

The 4th raag in the Pothee is raag Dhanaasree which starts on page 119b and continues upto the page 164a. The last raag named Parbhaatee had been concluded on page 113b and the Dhanaasree commences on page 119b. This way 6 pages in the beginning of raag Dhanaasree are lying blank. The Pothee has 43 hymn under this raag. The serial number of Dhanaasree in Sree Guru Granth Sahib is the 10th and there are 118 hymns therein. The Pothee also includes the compositions of Guru Raam Daas Ji and Guru Arjan Dev Ji under this raag. Therefore, while comparing it with the bani of Sree Guru Granth Sahib, the poetry of these two Gurus requires to be deducted. If we keep

these two lists before us the details of the conclusions will be as under :

(i) The Pothee contains only 8 hymns³⁶ composed by Guru Nanak Dev Ji whereas their number in Sree Guru Granth Sahib is 14. The 6 hymns which are short in the Pothee are available under the name of the 3rd Guru.

(ii) On the contrary the Pothee has 15 hymns by the 3rd Guru, while in Sree Guru Granth Sahib their number is 9. These 6 additional hymns in comparison with Sree Guru Granth Sahib are the same as mentioned above in S.No. 1.

(iii) Under this raag one hymn is given in the Pothee under the name of Sree Guru Ram Daas (kaamu Karodhu maaya madhu meethe dal badal jio onvi rahe-page127b). Sree Guru Granth Sahib contains 14 hymns by Sree Guru Ram Daas Ji but this hymn is not one of them.

(iv) Two hymns in this raag are given under the name of the 5th Guru. Out of these, one (chandan choaa ras bhog karat anek bikhia bikaar dekhu sagal hae pheeke-page 137a) has been accepted as composed by Sree Guru Arjan Dev Ji in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. But the second hymn (mere Saaha mae hari darsan Sukh hoye-page 136b) has been shown as composed by Guru Ram Daas Ji and can be seen at S.No. 31 under raag Dhanaasree and on page 670 of Sree Guru Granth Sahib. There are 59 other hymns by Guru Arjan Dev and adding to them one in the Pothee can, 60 in all, be seen in Sree Guru Granth Sahib.

(v) Like Gulaam, Sada Sewak also is one of the favourite spiritual poets of the compiler of the Pothee but Sree Guru Arjan Dev Ji has not admitted either of them into his compilation. In the

Pothee one composition by Sada Sewak is there under raaga Dhanaasree (Gurmukhi namu japae janu koyee-page 149b) which evidently cannot be available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib.

(vi) The Pothee contains 4 hymns by Kabir Ji but in Sree Guru Granth Sahib, the number of hymns by Bhagat Ji is 5. 4 hymns are common but the 5th hymn (Raam simari raam simari raam simari Bhai) which is available on page 692 in Sree Guru Granth Sahib does not exist in the Pothee.

(vii) The Pothee has two hymns by Bhagat Trilochan but there is only one by him in Sree Guru Granth Sahib on page 695 (Sankara mastaki basta sursari isnaan re).

(viii) The hymn by Bhagat Dhanna which is available in the Pothee (Jini maata ke odak udar maahi keeya Daas doaara-page 160a) does not exist in Sree Guru Granth Sahib and the hymn (Gopall tera aarta) on page 695 in Sree Guru Granth Sahib does not exist in the Pothee.

As in raag Dhanaasree, in the comparison of the Pothee and Sree Guru Granth Sahib there is a greater stress upon the incongruence between them, in the same way in what follows next we will see greater inclination towards dissimilarity in the matter of the sequence of the hymns.

E) Malaar:

At present raag Malaar is at S.No. 5 in the Pothee. Under this raag there is only one hymn written in Lande script. This hymn was composed by Namdev Ji and is available on page 165a. Its first line is: 'Alwat eh bharam jah majh opar sabh kapal' (alaawanti eho bhramu jo hae mujh oopari sabh kopila-Sree

Guru Granth Sahib (page 1292). This hymn is available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib in raag Malaar but there it starts with the line of pause 'Mo kau toona na bisaari (page 1292) and text forward it has the beginning of the same line (Aaawanti eh bhramu jo hae.....).

Because this hymn is obviously an interpolation, therefore, there is no need of giving its comparative detail.

F) Basant.

In the Pothee raag Basant is at S.No. 6 and it moves uninterrupted from page 168b to page 222a³⁷.

The Pothee has a total of 52 hymns in raag Basant. Among these hymns one by Bhagat Kabir Ji is written on page 215b (Iss tan man meh madan choru). But on page 222a this hymn is again written in incomplete form and has been deleted. The editor of this book has accounted for these two hymns in the total number.

In Sree Guru Granth Sahib where the serial number of this raag is 25th, there are 88 hymns. In the Pothee, the bani of the 4th Guru Sahib is there but it has no hymn by the 5th Guru Sahib. If we delete 24 hymns by Guru Arjan Dev Ji and 5 hymns by the 9th Guru and compare the hymns of the Pothee with those of Guru Granth Sahib, some points are noticeable and they are capable of drawing the attention of anybody who compares them.

(i) The Pothee has 10 hymns by Guru Nanak Dev Ji while Sree Guru Granth Sahib has 18 hymns by him. 8 hymns out of these are common in both the collections but two (Wast utaari digambaru hog-page 173b) and (Sahib bhaavae sewa karae-page 175a) are such, as have been recognised in the Pothee

to have been composed by Guru Nanak Dev Ji but in Sree Guru Granth Sahib, they are shown to have been written by the 3rd Guru. Besides these there are 10 hymns, which according to the Pothee were written by the 4th Guru Sree Guru Granth Sahib presents them as having been written by the 1st Guru.

(ii) The Pothee has given 17 hymns by the 3rd Guru whereas their number is 20 in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. They include two hymns, which have been mentioned above at serial number 1 (page 173b and page 175a). One more hymn which is available on page 177b (Raate sachi naami hari niraala) is shown in the Pothee as the composition of the 4th Guru, but it has been given in Sree Guru Granth Sahib as a writing of the 3rd Guru.

(iii) The Pothee gives 11 hymns in raag Basant written by Guru Ram Daas Ji-it is a much bigger instalment as compared to the usual bani of the 4th Guru in the Pothee. As indicated above at serial number 1, 10 out of these 11 hymns have been mentioned in Sree Guru Granth Sahib as having been written by the 1st Guru and the 11th is available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib under the stamp of the 3rd Guru. In this way not even a single one out of these 11 given as composition of Guru Ram Daas in the Pothee does not appear as his composition in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. It is true that 8 other hymns in Sree Guru Granth Sahib are available under the name of the 4th Guru but they are not given in the Pothee.

(iv) There are 2 hymns in the Pothee with the name of Sada Sewak (Aape hi santu bhagti laayo aape daetu chidaaya-page 206a) and (Jeta kapadu angi hadhaayee-page 206a) (and Jeta kapaduangi hadhaaya-page 206b) but in Sree Guru Granth

Sahib, as has been clarified so far this writer along with Gulaam has not found any entry.

(v) In the Pothee there are 6 complete hymns and one incomplete and deleted hymn (page 222a) by Bhagat Kabir Ji. This incomplete hymn is without a number, therefore, only 6 hymns as per the Pothee have been accepted as his composition. Sree Guru Granth Sahib has two additional hymns composed by him in addition to these 6. The initial lines of these hymns are: (Naayiku eku banjaare paach-Sree Guru Granth Sahib page 1194) and (Surah ki jaesi teri chaal-page 1196 of Sree Guru Granth Sahib).

(vi) There is also a variation in respect of Bhagat Namdev Ji's bani. The Pothee has 3 hymns by Bhagat Ji and Sree Guru Granth Sahib also has 3 by him but there are only two hymns common. One given in the Pothee (Kisan Basant bhale tumi aaye duaaDaasi ban tak phoole-page 221b) is not available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib and similarly one hymn given in Sree Guru Granth Sahib (Sehj avari dhoodi mani gaadi chaalti-page 1196) is not available in the Pothee.

Just as there is a mutual difference between the Pothee and Sree Guru Granth Sahib in respect of entries under raag Basant, as any reader can see, in the same way the difference between the two collections in respect of the sequence of the hymns is not less noticeable. But for this we will have to see the separate part in which the sequence of hymns is given.

G) Bhaero.

The 7th raag given in the Pothee is Bhaero, which commences on page 222b and runs upto the page 268a. Four

pages in this raag namely 241a, 241b, 242a and 251 b are lying blank.

The Pothee has a total of 63 hymns under this raag. In Sree Guru Granth Sahib where the serial number of this raag is 24th, the number of hymns is 132. If we deduct seven hymns by Guru Ram Daas Ji and 60 hymns by Guru Arjan Dev Ji, the remainder is 65 hymns. If these are compared with the 63 hymns of the Pothee we come to know of the following:

(i) The Pothee has not even a single hymn composed by Sree Guru Nanak Dev Ji while Sree Guru Granth Sahib has 9 hymns by him. The Pothee has accounted for these hymns by assigning one hymn (Tae te baahri kichhooa na hoyi-page 222b) to the second Guru Ji and giving the remaining 8 hymns under the stamp of Guru Amar Daas Ji.

(ii) As has been said above, the hymn (Tae te baahri..... kichhooa na hoyi-page 222b) shown in the Pothee as composed by the second Guru, has been accepted in Sree Guru Granth Sahib as a composition of Guru Nanak De Ji.

(iii) The Pothee has 31 hymns composed by the 3rd Guru but in Sree Guru Granth Sahib their number is 23, and the remaining 8 hymns are given under the patti of Guru Nanak Dev Ji.

(iv) The Pothee has 3 compositions by Sada Sewak (Haumae mamta sabde khoyee-page 250a; soyee panditu hari naamu dhiaavae; and Satguri poorae naamu didaaya-page 251a) whereas Sree Guru Granth Sahib does not contain a single composition of this writer.

(v) The Pothee contains 13 hymns³⁸ by Kabir Ji but their number in Sree Guru Granth Sahib is 20. The first lines of these 7 additional hymns are as under :

- * Ulti jaati kul duoo bisaari (Page 1158)
- * Nirdhan aadaru koyee na dayi (page 1159)
- * Satari saeyi salaar hae ja ke (page 1161)
- * Sabh koyee chalan kehat hae oohan (page 1161)
- * Keo leejae gadhu banka Bhai (page 1161)
- * Rang gusaaini gehar ganbheer (Page 1162)
- * Koti soor ja kae Pargaas (page 1162)

(vi) The Pothee has 13 hymns by Bhagat Namdev Ji while Sree Guru Granth Sahib has only 12. One hymn given in the Pothee (Santan kae iku rotu jaachula so rat le naatho Beethula-page 265a) is not available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib.

(vii) In the same way one hymn given in Sree Guru Granth Sahib (Aao kalandar kesva-page 1167 of Sree Guru Granth Sahib) is not available in the Pothee.

(viii) The hymn with a title of Bhaerau kameerae Namme Ki and starting with the line (jo paathar kau kehte deva) can be seen on page 262a of the Pothee. This very hymn is available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib on page 1160. But, there it is under the title of the 5th Guru, even though the last lines contain a line 'kehat Kabir hau kaho pukaari'.

(ix) A hymn by Bhagat RaviDaas Ji under the raag Bhaero (Begampuru osu sehar ka naao'-page 264b of the Pothee) is

available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib but, there, it is under raag Gaudi, instead of Bhaero, on page 345.

(x) There is an interesting instance in this raag the equivalent of which is not available in any other raag. There are two hymns of Bhagat Namdev in the Pothee from page 265b to 267a. The initial lines of these hymns are as under :

- * Hidoo Gardani maarau tohi (page 265b)
- * Sultaanu poochhae kaho re naama tera suaami kaesa hae (page 266b).

In the Pothee they have been counted as two separate hymns.

Instead of these two hymns there is only one hymn given in Sree Guru Granth Sahib, the first line of which is 'Sultaanu poochhae sunu be naama (page 1165)'. This hymn contains the sum and substance of both the hymns of the Pothee. Some words and lines are common. In a way, this single hymn embodies the essence of two hymns of the Pothee.

The learned readers must have seen that the differences between the Pothee and Sree Guru Granth Sahib in raag Bhaero itself are more numerous than the similarities between them.

There are many mutual differences in raag Bhaero in the sequence of the hymns, but this will be dealt with in some next chapter.

Can the differences that have been seen in raag Bhaero make an impartial judge of the medieval text say that Guru Arjan

Dev Ji had this Pothee before him while preparing his new collection of the bani?

(H) Aasa,

At present raag Aasa comes at serial number 8 in the list of the raags in the Pothee. In the Pothee, the first 3 slokas of the vaar of Guru Nanak Dev Ji in raag Aasa have been pushed on to page 268a. The title in the Pothee is 'var aas ki sehal I. This raag is an interpolation.

Therefore, we are skipping it.

(I) Maaroo.

Raag Maaroo starts from page 271b and leaving aside the interpolational entry on page 2780 the 11 hymns of this raag continue upto page 278b. After an interval, a second instalment of 4 other hymns is available from page 281a to page 283a. Among these there are 12 hymns atop which the title Kedaara has been deleted and replaced by Maaroo. All the 15 hymns of raag Maaroo are not available at the same place in a single continuous series. They are given in the series of raag Kedaara.

There is a hymn of the subordinate raag Maaroo-Kedaara, the first line of which is 'Patt karm kuli sau jugti hae re bhagti hirde naahi'.

The detail of the bani available under raag Maaroo in the Pothee is as under : 7 hymns of the first Guru, 3 hymns of the 3rd Guru, one hymn of Sree Jaidev and 4 hymns of Bhagat Kabir.

In Sree Guru Granth Sahib, raag Maaroo is at serial number 21. In it if we leave aside the bani by the 4th, 5th and 9th

Gurus, there are 91 hymns together by the first and the 3rd Gurus and the Bhagats and one vaar by the 3rd Guru.

If we compare them which the hymns available in the *Pothee*, the following facts come to light.

(i) Under raag Maaroo in the *Pothee* there are only 7 hymns by the first Guru. The first of these (pichho raati sadada naamu khasam ka leho-page 271b) does not bear any title but atop the next hymn it is written: "Baabe Patisah ka". It can be conjectured that even the first hymn must have been written by Baabe Paatisha. All these 7 hymns are available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib but beside these, there are 38 other hymns which have been presented as having been written by the first Guru.

(ii) The 8th hymn in the *Pothee* (Jeh baesaalehi teh baesa soaami page 275b) bears the title of 3rd Guru. The next two hymns are untitled, which means that the *Pothee* accepts these two hymns also as having been written by Guru Amar Daas Ji. In Sree Guru Granth Sahib also this 8th hymn has been presented as having been written by the 3rd Guru. But the next two hymns have been placed in the bani of Guru Nanak Dev Ji. The Guru Granth Sahib has 29 other hymns and one complete vaar written by the 3rd Guru in addition to the above mentioned one hymn of *Pothee*. These 29 hymns and the vaar are missing in the *Pothee*.

(iii) The *Pothee* has 4 hymns by Bhagat Kabir in raag Maaroo ('Ridhi-sidhi ja kau phuri tab kaahoo sio kia kaaju'-page 281a; 'anbhau kinae na dekhia baeraageeade binu bhae anbhau na hoye vanhanbae-' page 281b; 'jini gadu kot keeye kanchan ke chhodi maiao so Raavano'-page 282 b; and 'kinhi vanjia kaesa

taama kin hi laug supaaree'-same page). But Sree Guru Granth Sahib has 12 hymns by Kabir Ji in Raagg Maaroo. 4 out of these 12 hymns (' Raajan kaunu tumaarae aavee' - page 1105; ' Gagan damaama baajio pario neesaanae ghau'-same page; 'deenu bisaario re diswaane deenu bisaario re' - same page and 'Raam Simaru pachhutahiga man'-page 1106) are not available in the Pothee. 4 hymns out of remaining 8 are available in raag kedaara and one hymn (Banahi base kio paayeeyae jau lau manaho na tajehi bikaar-page 1103 of Sree Guru Granth Sahib) is available in the Pothee under the subordinate raag kedaara-Maaroo on page 280b.

(iv) One out of 4 hymns given in the Pothee under raag Maaroo (Kinhee vanjia kaesa taama-page 282b) can be seen in Sree Guru Granth Sahib under the raag Kedaara.

(v) The Pothee has one hymn (Patt karm kuli sau jugti hae re-----page 283a) by Bhagat RaviDaas Ji under the subordinate raag Maaroo-Kedaara, but in Guru Granth Sahib this hymn is given under raag Kedaara.

The differences between the *Pothee* and Guru Granth Sahib in raag Maaroo also go to the same extent as we have seen in the previous raag.

(J) Kedaara.

Kedaara is the 10th raag in the *Pothee*. It continues from page 278a to page 288b. Thereafter, the pages 289a, 289b, 290a, 290b, 291a, 291b, 292a, 292b, 293a, 293b and 294a are lying blank. Within raag kedaara also the pages 286a and 286b have been left blank.

Kedaara is the only raag in the Pothee which does not have the bani of any Guru Sahib. The initial hymn of this raag is by Sada Sewak and is extant on page 278a. Besides this, this raag has 9 more hymns and the last of the 9 hymns is by Bhagat Namdev Ji (Chaari mukti chaareo Sidhi mili ke doolah prabh kee saran pario-page 287b). This hymn of Namdev Ji is available under raag Maaroo in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. The remaining 8 hymns are by Bhagat Kabir Ji. It has already been intimated in the detail of raag Maaroo that 4 out of (8) hymns bear the intimation of raag Maaroo atop them. If we take away these hymns, only 4 hymns will be left in Kedaara raag and one of these (Chaaalee achal thiti paayee jah kee taha samaayee-page 285a is not available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib.

One hymn by Bhagat Kabir Ji under raag Kedaara in Sree Guru Granth Sahib is such as is not available in the Pothee (Chaari din apni naubati chale bajaaye-page 1124 of Sree Guru Granth Sahib)

In Sree Guru Granth Sahib Raag Kedaara is placed at serial number 23 and it has 25 hymns in it. The writer-wise detail of this raag is as under: 4th Guru =2 hymns; 5th Guru =16 hymns; Kabir=6 hymns and Bhagat RaviDaas =1 hymn.

In raag Kedaara there are two hymns by Bhagat Kabir Ji (Banaho base kia hoyeeyee ja te manho na jaho vikaar-page 280b) and tedhi paag tedhe chaale lage beere, khani-page 288a) are such as bear the title of the subordinate raag Kedaara-Maaroo. Both these hymns are available in raag Kedaara in Sree Guru Granth Sahib on page 1103 and page 1124 respectively.

The above detailed study of this small raag also shows the distance between the *Pothee* and Sree Guru Granth Sahib.

[K] Bilawal.

In the *Pothee* the raag Bilawal is at S.No. 11. Only 1 hymn of this raag is written on page 299a in lande script. Its first line is : Man madar man vas kalandar ghat h tarath nav (Man mandaru tanu ves kalandaru ghat hee tirathi nawa). The *Pothee* does not provide any information about its writer but in Sree Guru Granth Sahib this hymn has been indicated to have been written by the first Guru and it can be seen on page 795.

[L] Tilang.

Raag Tilang available in the *Pothee* at S.No. 7 I have brought to S.No.12 i.e. at the end of the *Pothee*. Its reason has been given in the portion entitled 'Changes by the Editor'. The total number of hymns in this raag is 6 which have been written on pages 181b, 182a, 183a, 184a and 299b³⁹ in the *Pothee*, but now the figures on the pages of this raag are 294b, 295a, 296a, 297a and 300b. The first 5 of these hymns have been written by the 1st. Guru and the 6th by Bhagat Kabir Ji.

Out of these 6 hymns, the one written on page 297a (Allah eku kareemu kudrati sachu kadru paaku) is not available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. The remaining 5 are extant in Sree Guru Granth Sahib but there is a great difference in their mutual order as will be evident from the table given in the ensuing portion entitled the 'Sequence of Hymns' in the *Pothee*.

In Sree Guru Granth Sahib, the raag 'Tilang is at serial number 14 and there are a total of 20 hymns in it. Out of these,

7 are written by the 1st. Guru, 2 by the 4th Guru, 5 by the 5th Guru, 3 by the 9th Guru, one by Bhagat Kabir Ji and 2 by Bhagat Nam Dev Ji.

It is suspected that the hymns of raag Tilang also have been written by somebody later on the pages lying blank and that they have not been written by the original writer of the *Pothee*.

[M] GOOJARI.

At present raag Goojari is at serial number 13 in the *Pothee*, There is only one hymn of this raag which is written on page 298a in the Lande script. It is a famous hymn by Bhagat Trilochan Ji, which talks of the consequences of focussing one's attention on the worldly things during one's last breaths.

In the *Pothee* some writer had started putting down this hymn in Gurmukhi script on page 300a but had given up after writing three and a quarter lines, due to which the hymn is lying incomplete. The same hymn written in Lande script on page 298b is complete.

This hymn has been interpolated later, therefore, is has not been deemed fit to require a detailed description.

[N] The Essence.

The main point which has emerged from the comparison of the raags given in the *Pothee* and those very raags in Sree Guru Granth Sahib affirms that Guru Arjan Dev Ji was not dependant on the *Pothee*. Otherwise to what other conclusion do the additions and subtractions available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib lead? Some differences which lead us to this conclusion are as under:

There is mutual variance of at least one raag and some subordinate raags between the *Pothae* and Sree Guru Granth Sahib. In case of some raags the names of the writers of the hymns differ and same hymns in many cases have been placed in different raags. The number of hymns given in a raag is not the same and as we shall see in next chapters the sequence of the hymns in the raag is not the same. In this way this conclusion can be drawn from the mutual differences that the *Pothae* and Sree Guru Granth Sahib are the collections representing different sects and the fact of recognizing the *Pothae* as the main source of Aaad Beed is completely unfounded.

[vi] Information about the Writers in the titles.

The main aim of the compiler of the *Pothae* was not to prepare collection of a single writer but to prepare a multi-writer compilation. Right since the inception of the concept of this attempt many problems must have hastily raised their heads before the compiler. For example, whether he should include selected compositions of writers or all their compositions? How has he to distinguish between standard writings and non-standard writings? In What sequence has he to arrange the writers? Has he to present the selected compositions according to the writer, or according to the raag, or according to the poetic form or the metre or the subjects or has he to use a device keeping in view all these factors? At some places the pause has been given prior to the burden and at some other places the refrain precedes the pause. Which of these devices should be adopted? There is one more thing. If we look at the various collections of bani of that time we come to know that one compiler has accepted certain compositions as written by a

certain poet, bhagat or mystic but another compiler has preserved it as the writing of another writer. It makes it clear that the contemporary collectors were also faced with the significant problem of fixing the writers of various writings. The compiler of the *Pothee* has indicated the names of many writers in the titles but he is silent about some and is double-minded about some others. We have already discussed the element of adoration and raag in the titles of the *Pothee*, Now we shall concentrate on the information available in the titles about the writers. As we shall see in the next pages, in case of some hymns of Gurbani there is difference or opinion between the compiler of the *Pothee* and Guru Arjan Dev Ji about the writer. What can be the cause for this? One obvious cause can be that the two parties had different basic sources. But let there be regular discussion on this important question. At present we have to attend to the question as to what type of information the compiler of the *Pothee* has provided about the composers of the compositions in the titles. The writer of the *Pothee* was copying the bani from some already written pages. He was, therefore not faced with all the irritants of the compilers but it was his duty to make his readers as clear about the bani being written in the *Pothee* as he himself was about it. For example, if he had given in the beginning of the *Pothee* a list of contents to indicate that on such and such page commences the writing of such and such great man, the reader would have been saved double-mindedness, but the *Pothee* has been somehow deprived of the list of the contents. Therefore, he had only one great way of giving information about the writer—that the titles themselves be used as a medium of information about the writers. All the contemporary compilers had at least this, one, amenity that almost all the bhagat-poets left the stamp

of their identity by using their noms-de-plume in the last lines of their compositions. So it was not difficult to find out whether a certain hymn was written by Bhagat Kabir or Bhagat RaviDaas or Bhagat Beni. There was a little difficulty in identifying the bani written by the Gurus because every Guru-writer had used Nanak as his nom-de-plume. Instead of establishing their separate identity, everyone lived up to the ideal of adapting himself as the incarnation of the 1st Guru. Even after being acquainted with this background the compiler of the *Pothee* wanted to provide definite information regarding the writer of the hymns by the Guru. Now we have to see how the titles have been used to distinguish the writers in the *Pothee* and how this task has been accomplished in *Sree Guru Granth Sahib*. This way a greater clarity is expected to be attained about the efforts of the compiler of the *Pothee*.

(A) Comparison of the pieces of information regarding the writers.

The *Pothee* has a total of 293 hymns but the information about the writers is given in only 165 titles, It means that the remaining 128 compositions are devoid of this information. It is essential to pay attention to the titles in order to find answers to almost all the questions arising regarding the compositions with or without this information. So, we have given an orderly list of these in the 5th addendum.

Out of the 165 hymns with the titles containing information about the writer 16 have not been included by Guru Arjan Dev Ji in the *Add Beed* (Please look at serial number 18 to 22, 37, 38, 49, 62, 89, 90, 100, 124 to 126, 146 and 158). There are serious differences of opinion about the writers of 18 hymns. For example the *Pothee* considers the hymn at serial number 2 to

have been written by Guru Amar Daas Ji but Guru Arjan Dev Ji indicates it as having been written by Guru Nanak Dev Ji. In the same way the Pothee regards the hymn at serial number 3 as having been written by the second Guru Ji, but Guru Arjan Dev Ji accepts it as the writing of the First Guru Sahib. The Pothee considers the writing at serial number 4 to be a composition of Guru Amar Daas Ji but Guru Arjan Dev Ji regards the 1st Guru as the writer of this hymn. Other specimens of this type can be seen at serial numbers 46, 58, 63, 69 to 72, 88, 97, 101, 128, 132, 140, 155 and 161 of the above mentioned addendum. In the Pothee before the figure indicating the sequence of the revered Gurus. The word 'Mahal' has been used 15 times, 'Mahalu has been used 47 times, 'Mahal' has been used 4 times, the word 'Mahala' has been used 10 times, the word Mah has been used 3 times, the word Pahil has been used once and the word Sehil has been used once and thus there is a great variation. But in Sree Guru Granth Sahib everywhere the word Mahala has been used. In the Pothee there are some hymns atop which information regarding the writers has been given but in Sree Guru Granth Sahib the titles are silent about the writers (Please look at the Serial numbers 23, 25, 26, 42, to 45, 47, 64, 93, 94, 98, 99, 127, 129, 130, 134 to 136, 138, 139, 141, 150, 151, 153, 154, 156, 157, 159, and 160 of the 5th addendum). Some titles of the Pothee and Sree Guru Granth Sahib give information about the same writer but the vocabulary of this information varies. For example, against serial number 1, the compiler of the Pothee has given the title "Guru Bebe Di"; but Sree Guru Granth Sahib has given the title "Mahala 1,. For other specimens of this type please look at the serial number 5, 17, 24, 27, 29, 40, 46, 53, 65, 87, 91, 143, 144, 163, and 164 of the above addendum.

In addition to the above differences there is another big difference in connection with the names of the Bhagats. The compiler of the Pothee knows that Kabir and Namdev are two separate individuals. He also regards them as respectable. Still almost in every title he writes "Kabir naama". Under what influence or due to what reason he does so I have not been able to understand. The following table gives fuller information about this strange habit of the compiler of the Pothee

Pothee.		Sree Guru Granth Sahib.		
S.No. of Addendum	Title Page		Title	Page
39	Kabaru Naamdeo (This hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji).	(104b)	Kabir Jeeo	(793)
41	Kabaru Nama (The hymn is by Bhagat Namdev Ji)	(106a)	Bani Bhagat Namdev Ji	(1350)
42	Kameer Nama (The hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	(107a)	No information	(1349)
44	Kabeeru Nama (This hymn is by Bhagat Namdev Ji)	(109b)	No information	(1351)

45	Kabaru Naam (This hymn is by Bhagat Namdev Ji)	(110a)	No information	(1351)
46	Kameeru Nama (This hymn is by Bhagat Beni Ji)	(111a)	By Bhag Beni Ji	(1351)
47	Kabiru Nama (This hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	(112a)	No information	(1350)
63	Kameeru Name Ki (This hymn is by Bhagat RaviDaas Ji)	(151b)	By Bhag RaviDaas Ji	(694)
92	Kabir Name Ki (This hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	(216b)	Bani of th Bhagats I Kabir Ji	(1193)
93	Kameeru Nam Ji (This hymn is by Bhagat Jaidev Ji)	(217a)	No information	(1193)
94	Kabri Nama (This hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	(217b)	No information	(1195)
95	Kabiru Nama (This hymn is by Namdev Ji)	(218a)	Bani by Naamdeo Ji	(1195)

96	Kameeru Nama (This hymn is by Bhagat Namdev Ji)	(218b)	No information	(1195)
97	Kabiru Nam (This hymn is by Bhagat RaviDaas Ji)	(219a)	Bani by RaviDaas Ji	(1196)
98	Kabir Nama (This hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	(220a)	No information	(1194)
99	Kabiru Nama (This hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	(220b)	No information	(1194)
127	Kameeru Nama (This hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	(252a)	No information	(1159)
130	Kabiru Nama (This hymn is by Bhagat Namdev Ji)	(253b)	No information	(1163)
131	Kameeru Nama (This hymn is by Bhagat Namdev Ji)	(254b)	Naamdeo Jeeo	(1164)

132	Kameeru Nam (This hymn is by Bhagat RaviDaas Ji)	(255a)	Bani RaviDaas Je	(1167)
133	Kameeru Nama (This hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	(255b)	Kabir Jeeo	(1162)
134	Kameeru Nama (This hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	(257a)	No information	(1158)
135	Kameer Namdeo (This hymn is by Bhagat Nam dev Ji)	(257b)	No information	(1164)
136	Kameeru Nama (This hymn is by Bhagat Namdev Ji)	(258b)	No information	(1165)
137	Kabiru Nama (This hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	(258b/2 59a)	Bani Bhagats Kab Jeeo	(1157)
138	Kameeru Nama (This hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	(259a)	No information	(1159)

139	Kameeru Nama (This hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	(261a)	No information	(1158)
140	Kameerae Naame Ki (This hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	(262a)	By the 5 Guru	(1160)
141	Kameerae Naame Ki (This hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	(262b)	No information	(1160)
145	Kameeru Nama Jaedeo (This hymn is by Bhagat Jaedev Ji)	(277b)	Bani Jaedeo	(1106)
147	Keemree Nama (This hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	(278b)	No information	(1104)
148	Kameeru Nama (This hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	(279a)	Bani by Kab jeoo	(1123)
149	Kabiru Naame Ki (This hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	(279b)	Bani by Kab Jeeo	(1102)

150	Kameeru Naama (This hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	(280a)	No information	(1103)
151	Kameeru Nama (This hymn is by Kabir Ji)	(281a)	No information	(1103)
152	Kabir Naame Ki (This hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	(281b)	Bani by Kab Jeeo	(1104)
153	Kameru Nama (This hymn is Bhagat Kabir Ji)	(282a)	No information	(1104)
154	Kabiru Nama (This hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	(282b)	No information	(1123)
155	Kameeru Naam (This hymn is by Bhagat RaviDaas Ji)	(283a)	Bani RaviDaas Jeeo	(1124)
156	Kabiru Naama (This hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	(284a)	No information	(1103)
157	Kameeru Naame ka (This hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	(284b)	No information	(1123)

159	Kabiru Nama (This hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	(285b)	No information	((1104)
160	Kameeru Nama (This hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	(287a)	No information	(1124)
165	(Kameeru Naamdeo (This hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	(300b)	Bani by th Bhagats; Kabir Ji	(727)

Except the above differences, there is similarity between the rest of the titles.

(B) The Essence.

In the light of the quantity and the nature of differences in that above comparison, there is only one way open to the reader with logical tendency to decide that the extant *Pothee* was not the source material of Guru Arjan Dev Ji in preparing the *Aad Beed*, in the matter of information provided regarding the writers of the *Pothee*, If the Guru Sahib had not got an independent and more credible alternative, how could there be different views in the *Pothee* and Sree Guru Granth Sahib about the writers of 18 hymns. The *Pothee* is telling these hymns to be the composition of the father of Guru Arjan Dev Ji. What was the justification for not accepting them as they had been handed down, when our old and new history has unanimously accepted the *Pothee* to have been written prior to the *Aad Beed*?

The writer of these lines is obliged, after the comparison, to arrive at the conclusion that Sree Guru Arjan Dev Ji has not at all copied the *Pothee* in the information about the writers. Why has he not done so? Because the *Pothee* was not at all in his possession.

(c) Introduction to the writers.

In the extant *Pothee* except a small prose composition (an entreaty) by the writer himself, none of the 18 Gurus, Bhagats and other writers whose writings are available in it is such that his biographical detail stands provided and from the view point of the modern history is uncontroversial. Some of them are even such that, not to speak of history, even the legends are mute about them. The reason is that in our country the medieval historians and biographers considered presenting the life-sketches of dominant personalities of religious, cultural and literary firmament like those of the common people to be a serious injustice to the great individualities of the saint-poets. Therefore, they attached some uncommon, rather strange incidents with them and gave a coating of Puranic colour to their life histories. This gave a sense of gratification to these biographers that they have succeeded in presenting before their readership the universally accepted sketch of the saints and hermits, for writing whose biographies they had set out—distinct from the common people, excellent and devotion-inspiring. That is why, the introductory books like *Janam Saakhis* and *Bhagat Maalas* contain several marvellous events but have a nominal element of history. It is gratifying that sufficient purely historical material is available about the Gurus of the Sikhs. Here our motive is not to start campaign of removing the coating of Puranic colours from above the popularly accepted images of

the writers of the *Pothee* and presenting them as living human personalities. Our effort here is to introduce that part of the historical identity of every writer, which the research upto now is prepared to accept as standard or almost standard.

GURUS.

(i) Guru Nanak Dev Ji.

Guru Nanak Dev Ji, the founder of Sikh religion was born to Mehta Kalu at Talwandi Rai Bhoje (Now Nankana Sahib, District Shekhupura, West Punjab, Pakistan) on 15th April, 1469 and expired on 22nd September, 1539⁴⁰. The *Pothee* contains a total of 60 hymns by him.

(ii) Guru Angad Dev.

Guru Angad Dev Ji, the second Guru of the Sikhs was born at Matte Di Sraan, at present a village in district Muktsar (Secondly, named Naange di Sraan also) on 31st March, 1504 A.D. to Baba Pheru. He was installed as Guru in 1539 A.D. and expired on 29th March, 1552 A.D. The *Pothee* contains only two hymns by him.

(iii) Guru Amar Daas

Guru Amar Daas Ji, the 3rd Guru of the Sikhs was born on 5th May, 1479 at Baasar Ke, a village in district Amritsar. The name of his father was Baba Tej Bhan. He spent almost twenty two and a half years in serving Guru Angad Dev Ji. After the expiry of Guru Angad Dev Ji he became the Guru in 1552 A.D.

and breathed his last on 1st September 1574 A.D. The *Pothee* has 103 hymns by him.

(iv) Guru Ram Daas

Guru Ram Daas Ji whose initial name was Bhai Jetha Ji was the 4th Guru of the Sikhs. He was the husband of the younger daughter of Guru Amar Daas Ji, Bibi Bhani and the father of the 5th Guru Guru Arjan Dev Ji. He was born at Lahore on 24th September 1534 A.D. and acceded to the seat of the Guruship in 1574 A.D. He expired on 1st September, 1581 at Goindwaal. The *Pothee* contains 12 hymns by him.

(v) Guru Arjan Dev

He was the youngest son of Guru Ram Daas Ji. He was born on 15th April, 1563 A.D. at Goindwal. One of his biggest achievements was to compile a collection of the bani of the 1st four Gurus, his own bani and the compositions of 15 Bhagats and other writers. Later on, this very compilation with the addition of the bani of Guru Tegh Bahadur Sahib attained the status of Guru Granth Sahib. He was executed at Lahore on 30th May, 1606 A.D. under the orders of Jahangir. The present *Pothee* has only two compositions by him.

BHAGATS.

(vi) Ghagat Saen.

The Mahaan Kosh has the following entry about Bhagat Saen⁴¹: This gentleman was the barber of Raja Ram of Baandhavgarh (Reeva). He became a pupil of Raamanand, got

involved in the service of the Saints and was counted among the Bhagats of high order. His descendants are at this time present at Reeva. The hymns by this great soul are available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. The Pothee also contains one hymn by him.

(vii) Bhagat Kabir.

There are lots of differences among the scholars about the life of Bhagat ji. From the acknowledged beliefs and the hints available in Kabir Ji's compositions only this is obvious that he worked as a weaver at Kashi (Varanasi).

Dr. C.Vaudeville, after considering the dates given by several scholars has reached the conclusion: "We can provisionally accept the 1st half of the 15th century A.D. as Kabir's flourish. If this is the case, Kabir would not have lived during the reign of Sikandar Lodhi, but under the Sayyad dynasty at Delhi and the independent Sharqi dynasty at Jaunpur was the capital of the Eastern Muslim Kingdom which includes the ancient city of Kashi, also known as Varanasi, the modern Banaras⁴²." There are 51 compositions by him in the Pothee.

(viii) Bhagat Jaedev.

There is a mention of a village named Kindoobilav in Bhagat Jaedev's, famous Sanskrit Classic "Geet Govind". The poet is believed to have been born at this very villag. The Udiya Scholars claim that this village is near Puri (Orissa). The Bengali scholars mention it as a village in district Beerbhoom of Bengal and Maithlli scholars accept it as the new name of village. Some scholars have also given definite dates but it seems that the poet lived and composed during the second half of the 12th century⁴³. The *Pothee* contains one hymn by him.

(ix) Bhagat Trilochan.

Bhai Kahan Singh Ji has remarked about Bhagat Trilochan as the following: "He is a bhagat whose bani has been included in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. This great soul was a resident of Baarsi (district Sholapur) and belonged to Vaishya caste. He was born in Sammat 1325⁴⁴. The *Pothee* contains hymns by him.

(x) Bhagat Dhanna.

Mr. Macauliffe has mentioned the birth of Dhanna Bhagat in 1415 A.D. in a Jat family of Rajasthan⁴⁵ while Mr. Chaturvedi has admitted him as having lived after Bhagat RaviDaas⁴⁶. There is only one hymn by him in the *Pothee*.

(xi) Bhagat Namdev

Bhagat Namdev Ji was following the profession of printing and stitching of garments. Many bhagat poets of the medieval age remembered him respectfully. Many miracles are attached to his name. Many scholars of Maharashtra have opined about him that he lived between 1270AD to 1350AD. Dr. Hemant Vishnu Inamdar who has carried out research in respect of many saints has taken his birth on October 26, 1270 and his death on July 3, 1350⁴⁷. But Dr. Callewaert and Dr. Mukand Lath assess his time of life as not earlier than 1350AD to 1430AD⁴⁸. Bhagat Namdev was born at Pandharpur (Maharashtra). One of the well known places associated with him exists at the town Ghumaan in district GurDaaspur in the Punjab. His followers believe that Bhagat Namdev preached his thoughts in ease for 20 years at

this place⁴⁹. Twenty seven hymns composed by him are available in the *Pothee*.

(xii) Bhagat Beni.

He is a Bhagat whose bani can be seen in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. Nothing is known about his life⁵⁰. Entry about him in the English version of Mahan Kosh published in 1992, a loose translation of the above lines by Bhai Kahan Singh starts as under:

"Beni Bhagat is one of the 15 Saints and Sufis, some of whose compositions have been incorporated in the Guru Granth Sahib. Very little is known about his personal life⁵¹. One hymn by Beni Ji is available in the *Pothee*.

(xiii) Bhagat RaviDaas.

His name is known as RaviDaas in the Punjab but as RaeDaas in the world of the Hindi language. As regards the dates of his death and birth, there is a lot of difference of opinion among the scholars. For example, a couple of scholars estimate the time of his life between 1450 A.D. and 1520 A.D.⁵² while according to Dr. Jasbir Singh Saabar, he started the journey of his life somewhere in 1376 A.D. and 1414 A.D. and breathed his last during 1517 A.D.⁵³. But according to Professor Dharam Pal Singal, head of the RaviDaas Chair in Punjab University, Chandigarh, the dates of his birth and death are 1376 and 1527 A.D.⁵⁴ respectively. According to his own words Bhagat RaviDaas was a cobbler. The *Pothee* contains 10 hymns by him.

(xiv) Bhagat Raamanand.

According to Bhai Kahan Singh⁵⁵, the name of Raamanand's father was Bhoori Karma and his mother was named Mrs. Sushila, He was born in 1423 Bikrami/1366 A.D. and died in Sammat 1524/1467 A.D. But there are many writers who do not accept these dates. Well-known Bhagats like Kabir, Peepa and Saen are known to be his disciples. The main place of his stay was Kashi (Now Varanasi). This town was also his place of birth. One hymn by him is available in the Pothee.

SUFIS.

Sekh Saraf.

Punjabi (Gurmukhi) readers have known the name of Sekh Saraf for more than 350 years. Guru Nanak Dev has been shown in the 14th episode of "Puratan Janam Sakhi" as passing through Panipat, meeting Sekh Saraf and having a dialogue with him. The context of the Janam Sakhi reveals only that "Sheikh Saraf was the leading light of Panipat"⁵⁶. The Janam Sakhi does not provide any other information but every body knows that Sekh Sarfuddin Boo Ali Kalandar was a hermit of Panipat, whose mausoleum at Panipat is a place of pilgrimage for his followers. In the discussions Guru Nanak Dev has been shown to speak metrical compositions but the Sekh Sahib does not utter even a single sloka or Dohira or a Kafi during the whole discussion. The Pothee from Ahiyapur was written prior to the Puratan Janam Sakhi (1635 A.D.). This Pothee contains one composition under the stamp of Sekh Saraf, which has remained beyond the purview of scholarly research for want of the scholars' access to it. Is this composition by Sharfuddin Boo Ali Klandar of Panipat,

the year of whose death has been mentioned by Mufti Gulaam Sarvar in his directory of the Sufis named Khazeenatul Asfiah (Lahore 1284 Hijri/1867 A.D.) on the basis of seearul-Aktaab and Tazkiratul-Aashiqeen as 724 Hijri/1324 A.D. (page 313)? Some time back Sayyad Sibtul-Hasan Zaegam had informed this editor through a letter written from Lahore that "Abdul Majeed Bhatti also had mentioned a composition (Kafi) by Kalandar, on the basis of which, late Aenul-Haqq of Faridkot had written an article also." Many Persian compositions of Kalandar are available. According to Mufti Gulaam Sarvar he has many writings (page 312). Mufti has made a mention of a collection of letters written by him to one of his pupils Ikhtiaruddin under the name 'Hukam Namah-e-Sheikh Sharfuddin', a small Masnavi, some miscellaneous writings like Ghazals, Rubais etc. but he has not referred to any Punjabi or Hindi composition by him. Persian Biographers usually did not consider literary creations of sufis in Indian languages worth mentioning. Therefore, one scholar opines that it should not be surprising if like Sheikh Farid, Boo Ali Kalandar also attempted to write in Punjabi and the composition given in Pothee may be the result of his flair for the folklore.

Mufti Sarver has mentioned another Shah Saraf on pages 182-183 and the historians and biographers of Punjabi literature have talked of it. All the information which is available about Shah Saraf in the Punjabi books has come from the voluminous Persian work by Mufti Ji, 'Khazeenatul-Asfiah'. The books like Soofian da Kalaam (Dr. Mohan Singh Oberoi 1944, 5th Edition, DeviDaas JankiDaas, Lahore, page 209-210); Punjabi Shairan da Tazkira (Maula Bakhsh Kushta, 1960, Lahore, Meean Maula

Bakhsh Kushta and Sons, temple road, pages 244-245); Punjabi Sahit da Itihas, 1st part (2nd corrected edition 1971, Patiala, Bhasha Vibhag, Punjab, page 400); Punjabi Adab di Kahani (Abdul Ghafoor Quraeshi, 1972, Labore, Azeez Book Depot, pages 267-269 provide the same information as is available in the books by Mufti. The sum and substance of this information is that Shah Saraf was born at Batala and was a descendant of Puri Khattris. The first person in his dynasty to be converted to Islam was his grand father. When he was accused of illicit relations with his widowed sister-in-law, he left his home and hearth for Lahore where he became a pupil of Sheikh Mohd. Fazil Qadiri Shattari. He spent all his life like the beggars. His writing in Punjabi is available in a few manuscripts as the verse by a Sufi. In addition to miscellaneous writings "Shutar Namah" is a regular composition by him. According to Mufti Sahib, Shah Ji expired in the year 1137 Hijri which is equivalent to the year 1724-25 A.D.

The composition of Sheikh Saraf is not written in the Pothee in the original hand; it has been added later, Therefore, in all probability the Sheikh Saraf of the Pothee is not Sheikh Sharafuddin Boo Ali Kalandar but the mystic who came to Lahore from Batala and expired in the year 1724-25 A.D.

Sekh Farid.

The real name of Baba Farid was Masaood but his teacher Sheikh Kutbuddin Bakhtiar Kaki had graced him with a new name, Fariduddin (Matchless pearl of religion-Islam) and he became known with this very name. In his Punjabi verse which is preserved in Sree Guru Granth Sahib he has used Farid and not Masaood as his nom-de-plume. He was the leader of the Chishti sect of the Sufis and had his headquarters at Pak Patan

(West Punjab, Pakistan). He expired at this very place. According to the latest research by Allaama Akhlaaq Husain Delhavi, Baba Ji was born in the year 577 Hijri/1181 A.D. and died in 670 Hijri/1271 A.D.⁵⁷. There are 3 hymns by Baba Ji in the *Pothee*.

ANONYMOUS.

(xv) Gulaam and Sada Sewak.

16 out of 18 contributors to the *Pothee* have been identified and they have been briefly introduced to the readers. Otherwise also, leaving aside the three (Gulaam, Sada Sewak and Saraf) all others out of the 18 names had been introduced to the Punjabi readers by Guru Arjan Dev Ji through his *Aad Beed* in the beginning of the 17th century. One, out of the remaining three i.e. Sheikh Saraf also finds a mention in the *Puratan Janam Sakhi* (1635 A.D.) and the specimens of his writing are available in the manuscripts in Gurmukhi and Persian scripts (Though the Saraf mentioned in *Puratan Janam Sakhi* and the one whose writings are given in the *Pothee* are two separate persons, as has been mentioned above.) But the names Gulaam and Sada Sewak are still unknown to the historians and biographers of Punjabi literature. The writer of these lines has not come across any direct or indirect reference to them in any book of metrical or unmetrical verse, history or literary survey, manual or printed, small or large book of Punjabi, Hindi, Urdu, Persian or Bhaakha. He has seen neither an adorable allusion nor a reproachful one. I did not know if any composition under these names bearing the stamp of Nanak is available in any devotional or literary collection. Baba Pirthi Chand, the elder brother of Guru Arjan Dev Ji who had started a rival seat of Guruship has left behind a lot of written material. Many great writers like Sree Meharban,

Sree Har Ji, Sree Hariya Ji and Bhai Darbari have belonged to this sect. Their writings include the names of numerous religious leaders, Bhagats and devotees but these two names, sparately or together, are missing there. The attention of this editor has been drawn towards a new English article by a youthful researcher Dr. Rai Jasbir Singh who while mentioning one of his discoveries has stated: "the epithet of one of the authors in the *Pothee* i.e. Gulaam Sada Sewak, is also used in the *Chaturbhuj Pothee*⁵⁸". In this sentence the name of the writer has been mentioned as Gulaam Sada Sewak but in the 8th line (from above) of the page from where this sentence has been taken by Dr. Roy, the name of the writer is mentioned as Sada Sewak Gulaam. The phrase Sada Sewak Gulaam is found used in the *Pothee* only once, atop page 278a and there also it is found written in another hand after deleting the original name Gulaam. Atop the remaining 12 compositions, the name is written either as Gulaam or as Sada Sewak. Wherever the need for deleting original name and writing another name in its place has been felt, the name written is always Sada Sewak and not Gulaam Sada Sewak or Sada Sewak Gulaam. But the reference made by Doctor Roy in his Article to the presence of the epithet of Gulaam Sada Sewak in *Pothee Chaturbhuj* is deficient on two counts. First, the words Gulaam Sada Sewak are not found in the *Pothee Chaturbhuj* at the place mentioned by Doctor Roy (*Janam Sakhi Sree Guru Nanak Dev Ji*, 2nd Volume, Amritsar 1969, Khalsa College, Page 624), the words Gulaam Sada Sewak do not exist. Secondly the meanings which Mr. Roy has forced these words to yield in a self-willed manner automatically are not suggested to any reader. The page 624 is the last page of the *Chaturbhuj*

Pothee and the last words of the writer on this page are as under:-

EK ONKAR

Ek onkar Satiguru prasadi, sambat 1708. Vaeshaakh vadi ekam noon Chatrbhoj Pothee poori hoyee, vachni Sree Guru Meharvaan de likhaayee ji. likhee Bhai Keso Daas Brahmman, sewak guru da pooree hoyee/74 gostan likhiaan Gulaam ka, sewaku sewakan ka, sikhu Sikhan ka, jian Guru pachhaata hae Gulaam chatr Bhoj ka saas saas ka paeri pavna vaachana Guru de hukam nali Pothee sodhi Akharu ghatda wadhda Bakhsna eho daanu dena, Sree Guru Baba Nanak ji ka sabadu antari vasae ji I. Wahe Guru ji / tisu Pothee da avtaru keeta, eh Pothee sanbat 1885 Assu sudi duadisi, aitwari/Pothee poori hoyee Guru ke prasadi (God is one. God is one and meets through the grace of the one master). Year 1708 Vaisaakh first day of the waning moon. Chatrbhoj completed it. It was written under the command of Guru Meharvaan and was written by Keso Daas Brahamanu, who is Guru's server and the book was completed with 74 gosts. (The writer is the slave of slaves, server of servers and desciple of disciple's who recognised the master. Chatrbhoj the slave's obeisance of every breath may be noted. 'He corrected the Pothee at Guru's command; a word deficient or in excess may be forgiven. He may be blessed with the bounty that Guru Baba Nanak's verse be embeded in the heart, God is wonderful who inspired me for the *Pothee*, which was accomplished on Sunday the second day of waning moon of Asoo in sammat 1885 through Guru's grace).

CONCLUSION

The scholarly readers can see that in this inscription the epithets like Sada Sewak or Gulaam Sada Sewak have not been used. The way the words Gulaam Sewak and Sikh have been used shows that they have always been used by the men of letters to express the lowest form of their humility. The writer is saying that he is the slave of the slaves of those who have recognised the Guru; he is the server of the servers and a disciple of the disciples. It will be pure exaggeration to associate this inscription with the Gulaam and Sada Sewak of the *Pothee*.

So, even after the above mentioned discovery by Dr. Roy Jasbir Singh the situation remains as it had been mentioned earlier by the editor. The names of Gulaam and Sada Sewak have not been found anywhere in the literature of Punjab except in the *Pothee*.

Even in the literature outside the Punjab, the same condition prevails. The Saint-followers of Dadu of medieval Rajasthan as, for instance, Shri Rajab Ji (birth 1567 A.D.) were acquainted with the name of Sree Guru Nanak Dev Ji alongwith other saint poets, and incorporated the specimens of his writings in their compilations named *Sarvaangi*. Rajab has, in his *Sarvaangi* (1st decade of 17th century), given the instances of the writings of 88 poets⁵⁹ and Gopal Daas, in his *sarvaangi* (1627 A.D.), has given the specimens of the writings of more than 140 Saint poets⁶⁰. These include many other Bhagats in addition to Farid, incorporated in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. These two collections of the followers of Dadu mention neither the name of Gulaam nor that of Sada Sewak. They have not used, as an instance, the bani of these two names bearing the stamp of

'Naanik'. The mention of the mausoleums of these two has not been found in any gazetteer or any survey. No sect started by them has continued as the one started by Haria-Bala has done; nor has any fair being held in memory to them been heard. Therefore, these names have remained like a closed fist for any researcher.

(a) The First Mention.

The names have first emerged on the literary horizon of Punjab through the Pothees from Goindwal and because these Pothees remained beyond the access of the scholars (for which reason their copies could not be available), these two individuals also remained obscure. Since the time these Pothees came to public light some selected scholars have come to know of the writings available under these tow names. this also became known that these two writer used in their writings 'Naanik' as their nom-de-plume. Faced with such a situation it is natural for the researchers to get confused. Even though the confusion may be the worst confounded, efforts to remove it have to be made and now we have to make this multi-pronged attempt to do so.

(b) Internal Evidence.

We consider one by one the hints inside the Pothee which take us nearer a conclusion:

(i) The first hint is provided by the titles. The Pothee has the verses by Gulaam/Sada Sewak in the raags of Soohi, Parbhaatee, Dhanaasree, Basant, Bhaerau and Kedaara. The names of the writers are available in the tittles as under.

S. NO	Raaga	Page	Title	The First Line.
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1.	Soohi	53b	Gulaamu	Pir kae rang ra sohaagani andir raliyaan maanae
2.	Soohi	54a	Gulaamu	Mae avganiaa ko gunu naahi.
3.	Soohi	54b	Sada Sewak has been written after deleting Gulaam.	Pir ke sang ra sohaagin anudir raliyaan maanae
4.	Soohi	55a	Gulaamu	Pake mandap mehal hajaara.
5.	Parbhaatee	102a	Gulaamu	Sehaj bhaaye milaaya guri poorae vichaho haumae khoyee.

6.	Parbhaatee	102b	Gulaamu	Apnae vasi Keeonu sabh kichhu horasu hathi kichh naah
7.	Dhanaasree	149b	Sada Sewaku has been written after deleting Gulaamu	Gurmukhi naam japae janu koyee
8.	Basant	206a	Sada Sewaku has been written after deleting Gulaamu.	Aape hee san bhagati laaiy aape dae chidaaya.
9.	Basant	206b	Sada Sewaku has been written after deleting Gulaamu.	Jeta kapadu an hadhaaya
10.	Bhaerau	250a	Sada Sewaku has been written after deleting Gulaamu.	Haumae mam sabde khoyee.
11.	Bhaerau	250b	Sada Sewaku	Soyee panditu hari nammu dhiaavae.

12.	Bhaerau	251a	Sada Sewaku	Satguri poorae naamu didaaya.
13.	Kedaara	278a	Sada Sewak Gulaamu ha been writte after deletin Gulaamu.	Satgur bajhaho kinae na paaiya sabh thaki karan kamaaye.

This table shows that Gulaamu and Sada Sewak were two separate poets. Wherever the writer erroneously (?) wrote Gulaam instead of Sada Sewak, somebody has corrected it. Before giving any detail on this point it is necessary to see what other information is provided by the inner text of the Pothee.

(ii) In the Pothee the action of deleting the names priorly written can be seen only in a group of 13 writings; this exercise has not been followed anywhere else. This also is evident that the hand writing of person writing 'Sada Sewak' is not the same as had first given any writing under the label of 'Gulaam'. This also is abvious that the person writing Sada Sewak was not a contemporary of the original writer of the Pothee; he existed later. Who this writer was and what his motive was in doing so, we shall discuss later. Here we have only to see how much light the inner text of the Pothee throws on the problem of Gulaamu-Sada Sewak. We have already examined the chart of writing another name after deleting the first one. Now we shall see the situation emerging out of entering the unauthentic bani in the Pothee. i.e. under whose name the writer has entered such bani. The titles of 5 writings can be seen uncut and untouched. All these 5

writings are by Gulaam and can be seen on pages 53b, 54a, 55a, 102a and 102b. Out of the remaining 8 writings, one on page 256a has not been given the name of any composer by the original writer; but the last line on page 255b was the concluding line of a writing by Gulaamu. At the end of it he has written the words 'raag Bhaerau', but, as has been done at many places in the Pothee, the writings of the prior writer have been given without any title. On this very pattern this hymn has been accepted as the writing of the writer of the previous verse i.e. Gulaam and no need of repeating his name has been felt. The next hymn starts direct with the first line on page 256a and without any information about the writer or adoration; but later some other person has written Sada Sewak atop it. As such this hymn also has been entered in the Pothee, being accepted as the versification of Gulaam. The remaining 7 hymns also have been supposed by the writer/writers of the Pothee as the creation of Gulaam. Fortunately, the writers of the Pothee did not resort to a boycott of the deleted writing. Therefore, usually even the deleted writings can be read. All the 7 hymns have been entered under the label of Gulaam which subsequently were deleted and replaced by Sada Sewak. Thus, we are faced with a situation in which the original Pothee had 13 hymns by some such poet as had the label 'Gulaam' but was fond of using 'Naanik' as his nom-de-plume. If we look at the problem from this point of view, it automatically leads to the conclusion that the 13 hymns under consideration were the creation of not two writers but of Gulaam alone and that Sada Sewak was only an interloper who wanted to become the owner of the Estate simply by affixing his own name plate. With this conclusion the total number of contributors to the Pothee is reduced to 17 instead of 18.

(iii) We have already gone around the writing of Gulaam in the *Pothee* and concluded what we could find in his versification. Now we go inside his versification. Leaving aside one hymn, if we can find any personal detail in the remaining 12 hymns it has been presented wrapped in the spirituo-moral vocabulary as was the tradition of the middle ages in a way that it seems very difficult to sift it apart. If a hymn contains a direct reference, the hint, no doubt, is clear and connected with the individuality of Gulaam; but it does not provide such known information as can lead to definite identification in the context of history. It requires a lot of effort to squeeze history out of that information. The ensuing allusions have been taken from the stanzas of the hymn starting on page 256a.

Satgur mo kau bhaye daeyaala

Satgur ke hami baal gopaala :1: Pause:

Satgur vichi vaddi vadiaayee

Satgur kee keem kinae na paayee

Tisu Satgur te iku sewaku bhaiya

Tini sewaki sabhu jagu udhariya :2:

Tisu Sewak kau sad balhari :

Jini doobata jeeo leeya ubaari

Ohu sewaku ohu Satguru poora

Sarb kala saache bharpoora :3:

Aape Sewaku Satguru poora.

Anhat sabadu vajaawae toora

Anhati raate se baeraagi.

Naanik sewaki ek liv laagi :4:2:2

These references may have at once made clear to the knowledgeable contemporary reader as of which particular Guru and which particular Sewak the writer is talking ; but with the passage of time this reference also has become a mystery. Whosoever this Guru and this sewak may have been, some fleeting points can be caught hold of. For instance :

- The writer of this composition had the position of Balgopaal to his Guru. The use, here, of “Mo ko” (To me) and of hami (us) tells that the use of Balgopal was not only metaphorical but may mean a blood-relation.
- The Guru has expired but there is no mention of another Guru succeeding to his seat; while the mention of the Guru’s server is there and he has been described as like poore Satguru (The perfect Master) (Aape sewaku Satgur poora).
- The writer himself is a character enjoying the vicinity of the seat of the Guruship; he does not talk of mere hearsay.
- The Gulaam is a staunch supporter of the tradition of the Guru or seat of Guruship but he persuades the devotees to attach their faith to, not the next Guru succeeding the previous Guru, but to the server of the Guru.

There is at all no doubt about it that this is a composition of some such person as was in some respects near the seat of Guruship. It is possible that he may be looking forward or may have looked forward to succession to the Guruship. But who can it be? If we accept that the expired Guru was Guru Amar Daas, the tone of autobiographical piece on page 256a is not congruent to the known tone of his successor Guru RamDaas Ji. The writer of this composition cannot be Guru RamDaas Ji.

If the tone of these lines is not similar to that of the bani of Guru RamDaas Ji, can this composition belong to the time before Guru RamDaas Ji succeeded to the seat of Guruship? In my opinion it can not be at all. When Guru RamDaas was still Bhai Jetha Ji he could not have said in any case that “I had been saved from drowning by the server of Satgur”; he in fact is not the server but a perfect master for whose sake I can make any sacrifice! If being a Sikh he could not have uttered these words, how could he say these after becoming a Guru? So this also should be deemed proved that Gulaam, whosoever else he might be, he could, be neither Bhai Jetha Ji nor Guru RamDaas Ji. Rather I find in these lines an inkling of the party who was opposed to the person nominated for the Guruship (Guru Ram Daas) after Guru Amar Daas Ji. A cue to this effect has been seen on the page bearing the year of composition in the Pothee.

(iv) Another fact is expected to be settled through the internal investigation—Have the compositions of Gulaam surreptitiously entered in the Pothee through an interpolation by somebody or were they an integral part of the original Pothee right from its inception? If this point can be clarified, a very controversial problem concerning the Pothee is expected to be solved. Therefore, if I seem to have gone into detail to make the sequence of thought in this matter satisfactory, I ask for forgiveness of the scholarly readers. As long as the situation concerning the 13 compositions of Gulaam in the Pothee is not clarified it will be premature to decide whether these compositions are an interpolation or not. We shall evaluate each composition in the sequence of the various raags.

- The 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th compositions :

- Raag Soohi; pages 53b, 54a, 54b, and 55b.

Guru Amar Daas Ji's 31st hymn in raag soohi is concluded in the 5th line on page 53b. Next to it on this very page the writing of Gulaam starts. The writer has left this composition incomplete in the topmost line of the page 54a and in the next line again a new composition of Gulaam starts. This composition ends in the 4th line (from the top) on page 54b and the next line again starts a new composition with the title "Soohi Gulaam" from which some body has deleted Gulaam and written Sada Sewak⁶¹. This composition ends in the 7th line (from above) on page 55a. On this very page from the 8th line onwards another composition of 4 stanzas has been written under the title of 'Soohi Gulaam. The letters here have been shortened in order to finish this composition within the space which was left blank after the above composition. On the back side of the page 55a i.e. on the page 55b complete mool manar has been written at the top and the beginning of the Bhagat bani has been made with a hymn by Bhagat Kabir Ji. In this manner the composition of Gulaam has been sandwiched by Gurbani on one side and the Bhagat bani on the other. There is hardly any space either on the side of Gurbani or on the side of Bhagat bani where a composition by Gulaam could be entered without being detected.

- 5th and 6th compositions ; raag Parbhaatee; pages 102a and 102b.

10th hymn by Guru Amar Daas Ji ends in the last line of page 101b and with the first line of page 102a the composition of Gulaam starts, which ends in the 7th line on page 102b. This very 7th line gives the title Gulaam Parbhaatee and the composition comes to an end in the 3rd line of page 103a. The remaining

whole page is lying blank which is followed by two more blank pages i.e. 103b and 104a. On the page 104b Bhagat bani commences after the complete mool mantar.

- 7th composition; raag Dhanaasree; page 149b.

In raag Dhanaasree dakhni an ashtpadi by Guru Nanak Dev Ji gets concluded in the last line on page 149a and Gulaam's composition commences in the first line on page 149b. In this composition also the word Gulaam has been deleted and replaced by Sada Sewak⁶². This composition concludes in the 9th line of page 150a. The remaining part of the page is lying blank followed by two other blank pages i.e. 150b and 151a. On page 151b Bhagat bani has been started after writing complete mool mantar.

- 8th and 9th composition; raag Basant; pages 206a and 206b.

An ashtpadi by the 4th Guru (by the first Guru) ends in the 11th line of page 205b. On the next page i.e. 206a the composition of Gulaam starts and continues up to the 6th line on page 206b⁶³. Immediately after this, the next composition of Gulaam starts, which concludes at the end of page 207a⁶⁴. The pages 207b and 208a are lying blank and the first line of page 208b starts a hymn by Bhagat Raamanand Ji which concludes in the 4th line on page 209a. Next to it the pages from 209b to 215a are lying blank. On page 215b a hymn by Bhagat Kabir Ji which is not available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib, starts in the 1st line and concludes in the last line. The next page i.e. 216a is again blank and the Bhagat bani starts on page 216b after regular entry of complete mool mantar.

- 10th, 11th and 12th compositions; raag Bhaero; pages 250a, 251a and 251b.

A hymn by Guru Amar Daas Ji is concluded in the 10th line of page 249b. Next to it on page 250a there is composition atop which the title Gulaam has been deleted and replaced by Sada Sewak. This composition ends in the 11th line⁶⁵. On this very page the next composition of Sada Sewak starts in the 11th line and ends in the last line of page 250b. In the little space that is there on page 250b after the last line some other hand has made an entry of “Raag Bhaerau”. The original writer has not given the title of the raag or the writer because he considers the ensuing composition also to have been written by Gulaam, but atop page 251a an entry “Sada Sewak” has been made by some other hand. We do not possess a copy of the text of the next page i.e. 251b; but in all probability there should be complete mool mantar on this page because the ensuing page i.e. 252a gives the text of the last part of a hymn by Bhagat Kabir Ji. Thereafter the Bhagat bani continues.

- 13th composition; raag Kedaara, page 278a.

As has already been told, raag Kedaara does not include any bani by Guru Sahiban.

A hymn by Bhagat Jaidev (Chandu sati bhediya naadu sati pooriya suri satu khodis datu keeya) continues from the 5th line to the 14th line of page 277b, but it does not get concluded. On the ensuing page i.e. 278a there is a composition by Sada Sewak Gulaam (Gulaam) which gets concluded at the end of this page⁶⁶. On the next page i.e. 278b the hymn by Jaidev which had been left incomplete on page 277b re-starts.

The facts which peep clearly through the above evaluation include the following :

- (1) The 1st, the 2nd, the 3rd and the 4th compositions have been packed in between Gurbani and Bhagat

bani without any gap. There is no scope for pushing in any other text in the beginning, in the middle or at the end of these.

(2) The 10th, the 11th and the 12th compositions also, like the first 4 compositions have been packed in between the Gurbani and the Bhagat bani. There can not be any addition inside or outside them.

(3) The remaining compositions are at their proper place after the Gurbani and before the Bhagat Bani- but in between there are blank pages which can lead to the charge of interpolation.

I do not feel inclined to save the compositions of Gulaam under serial number (iii) above from the possible charge of interpolation, because the important conclusion we were expecting from the situation of Gulaam's hymns in the Pothee can be very well derived from the two raags Soohi and Bhaero.

In the raags Soohi and Bhaero the way the verses of Gulaam have been written between Gurbani and Bhagat bani gaplessly shows that the place of Gulaam's compositions had been decided at the time of planning of the Pothee. It automatically leads to the conclusion that these compositions have not been entered in the Pothee surreptitiously. Gulaam's verses entered in the Pothee are as old as the Gurbani and Bhagat bani entered therein. All the three are contemporaneous.

If our line of argument is correct it can be very significant for all the students of the knowledge of the Pothees because it shows that the Pothee is a product of the followers of Gulaam. The concept of the Pothee was born out of the plan to prepare a rival scripture by those who denied the line of Guruship of Guru Amar Daas, Guru Ram Daas and Guru Arjan Dev. Therefore, this Pothee which doubtlessly came into existence after the death of

Guru Amar Daas Ji. It failed to get the patronage of Sree Guru Ram Daas Ji. Also the desire to acquire it did not disturb the sleep of Guru Arjan Dev Ji. The internal evidence of the *Pothee* speaks volumes for the fact that it cannot be the foundation on which Guru Arjan Dev Ji prepared his Aad Beed. In the light of the internal evidence of the *Pothee*. I can only say that it is a grave mistake to accept this *Pothee* which is a valuable manuscript in itself, as the main source of the Aad Beed.

c) External Information

As soon as we leave the inner text of the *Pothee* we have to deal with the scholars like Gyani Gurdit Singh Ji and Dr. Pyaar Singh Ji who opine that Gulaam and Sada Sewak of the *Pothee* are only second names of Bhai Jetha Ji and Bhai Jetha Ji was the main contributor to the writing of the *Pothees*⁶⁷. Following this conjecture of his Gyani Ji arrives at the belief where he clearly sees in the titles and other information that Guru Ram Daas Ji had made a significant contribution to the writing of the *Pothees*, when he had not yet attained Guruship and he was yet Jetha Ji⁶⁸. The interesting thing is that the titles and other information which would have inspired Gyani Ji to arrive at the above conclusions change their meaning when they come before the writer of these lines. No title or information yields the meanings which Gyani Ji has put into them. The internal evidences of the *Pothee* have established that Bhai Jetha Ji or Guru Ram Daas Ji could in no way be the writer of the hymns given under the name of Gulaam. But in Gyani Ji's mind the *Pothee* and Bhai Jetha Ji are interlinked or to quote Damodar they are interwoven like the strings of a cot. Therefore, it seems necessary to draw attention to some more points, for the satisfaction of Gyani Ji and those scholars who agree with him.

The argument of Gyani Ji in his own favour seems to run like this. In the margin of page 93b of the *Pothee* from Pinjore some Jeth Chand has written in vertical⁶⁹ Landa letters “Taenda Gulaam”, (your server). This person writing this name Jeth Chand could only be the Sikh and son-in-law of Guru Amar Daas Ji Bhai Jetha. Here the word ‘Taenda’ stands for Guru Amar Daas Ji and just because in the *Pothee* from Pinjore, Bhai Jetha refers to himself as the Gulaam of Guru Amar Daas, therefore, all the compositions in the *Pothee* from Ahiyapur under the labels of Gulaam and Sada Sewak can be the writings of Guru Ram Daas Ji before he attained Guruship. At that time he was known as Bhai Jehta Ji.

This whole argument seems to be built like a wall of sand. The first reason is that some of the scholars who have seen this inscription have referred to it as a particular type of writing while some other have mentioned it as of another type. In one of them the word ‘taenda’ has been used while in others the word does not exist. For example, the *Pothee* which Baba Prem Singh saw first on 12.2.45 and for the second time on 18.2.45 at Ahiyapur and took notes therefrom mentions the words ‘Gulaam Mastan Jeth Chand’ on the margin of page ‘94’. My daughter Mrs. Shubhchint Kaur herself went to Pinjore on 1st September 1993, saw the *Pothee* and sent a report to me. According to her, the inscription on page 93b is in the same form as has been described by Baba Prem Singh i.e. Gulaam Mastan Jeth Chand. Shubhchint is B.A (Honours) and M.A. (First Division) and is working as a Librarian in a college.

On the other hand, the reference, the copy of which has been given by Dr. Pyar Singh in picture No. 6 and plate No. 9 in his book reads like this: “Galaam mast tad jath chad”. This is the

quotation which I had used in an article on Gurmukhi script in the year 1958 which was first published in “Punjabi Dunia” a Magazine of Bhasha Vibhag, Punjab and later included in the book named Punjab (1960) edited by Dr. Mohinder Singh Ranhhawa. In the article I have reproduced this quotation as ‘Galam mast tad jath chad’. Before writing the article I had myself scanned every page of the *Pothee*. Therefore, most probably I must have noted this quotation in my papers after seeing the *Pothee* myself. In such a situation somebody else may not be but I am quite clear that this difference of text is possible only if the two *Pothees* are similar but the two have different quotations. There is no other possibility and if it is so, the matter certainly becomes suspicious and controversial.

The other reason is connected with the language. Guru Ram Daas Ji had been born and brought up at Lahore. I have not read anywhere about the migration of his ancestors from the place using the dialect of taende, maende and settling in Majha. It seems that his family had lived in Majha for ages. Guru Amar Daas Ji in whose noble companionship Bhai Jetha Ji (Guru Ram Daas Ji) had lived and attained Guruship had been born and brought up at Baasarke, a village in Amritsar district. Agreed that at that time if a writer had to compose in native poetic forms like dakhana, kafi etc. the poets hailing from Lahore, Amritsar, Jalandhar etc. also were obliged to use taenda/maenda but in every day speech in a sentence consisting of 4 to 5 words, if a simple Sikh from Lahore addresses his simple Guru from Amritsar with taenda instead of tera or tuhada—it seems very doubtful to the writer of these lines. Therefore, I hesitate to arrive at once at the conclusion that the writer of this inscription is the

same Bhai Jetha as Guru Amar Daas Ji had nominated his declared successor and made Guru Ram Daas.

Guru Amar Daas Ji had selected a tested Sikh and son-in-law for Guruship ignoring his own sons. It will be a great injustice to Guru Ram Daas Ji to show him composing verses with the label of 'Nanik' to announce his Guruship even before attaining it; while he was a completely self-sacrificing and devoted Sikh before his nomination. Up to that time nom-de-plume Nanak had been used by Guru Nanak himself, and later by his declared successors Guru Angad Dev Ji and Guru Amar Daas Ji. Still later this name had been used by Guru Ram Daas Ji after attaining Guruship, or those unauthorised persons like Baba Prithi Chand, Baba Meharbaan and Baba Har Ji, the leaders who staked a claim to the eternal Guruship on one side and on the other hand there were some obscure poets who surreptitiously used the word Nanak in their compositions without any authority. The way the compositions by Gulaam/Sada Sewak in the Pothee are stated to be the compositions of Bhai Jetha, he, too, is being dragged into the list of unauthorised persons, which in no way can be considered a proper act.

Besides this, there is another weighty argument. Suppose Bhai Jetha had been permitted to use the word Nanak in his compositions prior to attaining Guruship, all his compositions will automatically get out of the unauthentic bani and enter the file of the authentic bani. This situation could not be hidden from Guru Arjan Dev Ji. If, still he has not incorporated the bani of his father in his Aad Beed- the father who had graced him with the seat of Guruship ignoring his two elder sons especially when according to Gyani Gurdit Singh and other scholars like him, Guru Arjan Dev Ji possessed all Pothees of

Goindwal including the one from Ahiyapur, what other certificate is needed about the unauthenticity of bani of Gulaam.

There is another fact. One point that clearly has emerged from the analysis of the page bearing the year of composition is that whosoever wrote or dictated the *Pothee* was inclined towards Bhallas and was disinclined towards the Sodhis. If he had known that the verses of Gulaam which were being placed in the *Pothee* at a high place were composed by the same young man as was instrumental in passing on to the Sodhis, the Guruship which was with the Bhallas, could he possibly show any liking for those verses?

It is hoped that the above proofs and arguments will put a full stop to the ignorance, which shows Gulaam as Bhai Jetha.

(d) Who was Gulaam?

Whatever positive and negative directions we have got so far, they have reduced the range of the claimants to being the writers of the compositions given under the title Gulaam. The following conclusions can be derived or arrived at, from these directions:

- Bhai Jetha Ji was not Gulaam.
- Whosoever he was he was like a child to Guru Amar Daas.
- Guru Amar Daas Ji had expired and Guru Ram Daas Ji had taken his place on the seat of Guruship but Gulaam and company were not happy at this elevation of Bhai Jetha Ji because all worldly and trans-worldly power seemed to be slipping from the hands of the Bhallas and going to the Sodhis.
- By taking advantage of his relationship with Guru Amar Daas and all its prestige among the sikh congregation and by using the nom-de-plume Naanik in his compositions and entering them in the *Pothee* just along with those of Guru Amar Daas.

Gulaam was trying to cherish half the pleasure of Guruship of which he had been deprived.

- According to the confessional statement of Gulaam himself he was at the 3rd place after the Guru (Amar Daas)—after Guru Amar Daas Ji there was Sewak who was no less than a perfect master and after him, “I (i.e. Gulaam) am present”:

All these directions seem to me to be leading to Baba Mohan Ji, the son of Guru Amar Daas Ji and ‘next’ to his son Baba Sahansar Raam Ji. Incidentally the Pothees from Goindwal have been associated with these two names right from the beginning. The only difference has been that the *Pothees* which were only a symbol of psychological, personal and familial protest against the unfulfilled expectation or the seat of Guruship had been made the foundation of Aad Beed, the scripture of the Sikh mainstream and endowed with respectable recognition by the shrewdness of men like Sarup Daas Bhalla. These opposing Bhalla princes failed to produce a trio of scholars in the field of philosophy or literature as the Meena leaders had done (Prithi Chand—Manohar Daas, Hari Ji). Therefore, while the Meena princes were half successful in forming and maintaining their own seat for quite some time the Bhalla princes despite their effort and desire concerning Pothee could not form their distinct sect.

An important composition of Gulaam available on page 256a of the Pothee talks of a person named Sewak’s being blessed as “Poore Satguru” after Guru Amar Daas Ji. This Sewak could not be Bhai Jetha who had already become Satguru after Guru Amar Daas Ji and was no more a Sewak like –“Poore Satguru”. Hence this gentlemen can be the son of Gurro amar Daas Ji because he alone could expect to inherit the Guruship according to the social custom of the country. The search for

Gulaam and Sada Sewak has brought us to a juncture where the needle of identification points to the princess of Bhalla family. The princes were Baba Mohan Ji and Baba Mohri Ji. Baba Mohri Ji remained associated with the Guru's establishment all his life. In this context the evidence of Baba Sunder Ji is very valuable because in his bani named 'Sadd' he has affirmed Baba Mohri Ji's being a Sikh in the vanguard but he is completely silent about Baba Mohan Ji. For whosoever knows that Bhai GurDaas Ji in one of his vaars has talked of Baba Mohan's becoming maniac after being deprived of the Guruship. Baba Sunder Ji's silence can be vociferous⁷⁰. Baba Mohri Ji's son, Baba Arjani Mal also was a trustworthy Sikh of the Gurus of his time. It should not be surprising if the threat of a curse given on the page with Sammat of the Pothee for following the non-Bhallas was directed against Mohri Ji and his descendants who belonged to the Bhalla subcaste. After this subtraction there remains only Baba Mohan Ji with whose name the Pothee from Ahiyapur and other Pothees from Goindwal have remained associated. Baba Mohan Ji is an important character in the episode depicting Guru Arjan Dev Ji going to Goindwal to procure *Pothees* and he has also been recognized as an important character of the fifth Master's hymn "Mohan tere oonche mandar". After considering it from all angles we come to know that the Sewak mentioned by Gulaam was none else than his own father and Guru Amar Daas Ji's son Baba Mohan Ji and the narrator is Shri Sahansar Raam, the son of Baba Mohan Ji, who calls himself Gulaam.

(e) Baba Mohan.

Baba Mohan Ji is a deficient character of deficient Sikh history; concrete information about him is not available anywhere. Information available in one old book of the sikh history is poles

apart from the information in the other book, “Bansaawali naamah Daasaan Paatshyaayaan Ka’ (1769 A.D.) talks of two sons of Guru Amar Daas Ji one was named Nand and the other Mohri. Further, Mohan was the son of Baba Nand. This way Baba Mohan Ji becomes the grandson of Guru Amar Daas Ji and nephew of Baba Mohri Ji but according to Mehma Prakash (1776 A.D.) though Guru Amar Daas Ji had only two sons--, yet Baba Mohri Ji was the elder one and Baba Mohan Ji the younger. Thereafter the historian continues treating Baba Mohan Ji as the elder brother of Baba Mohri, on which account all writers up to now have assumed that Mohan Ji was the elder son of Guru Amar Daas Ji. According to some historians he remained unmarried throughout his life but some others describe Sahansar Ram as his son.

There is a usual assumption about the *Pothees* that though their writer was Sahansar Ram, son of Mohan Ji yet Baba Mohan took them in his possession after their preparation. Usually the historians have evoked the image of Baba Mohan as a harsh recluse who was quietly sitting in a trance. Some have presented him as a picture of complete indifference towards familial affairs, unconcerned with the world and of complete renunciation (Sarup Daas Bhalla). The picture presented by Bhai GurDaas is though completely different yet it is the composition of a writer who was a contemporary of the Guru’s establishments and of Baba Mohan as well as the inner most confidant. Therefore what he says cannot be easily ignored. He has counted Baba Mohan Ji among the princes from Guru Nanak Dev Ji onwards to Guru Ram Daas Ji who had been superseded by other abler persons for the seat of Guruship. This information has been given in 33rd stanza of 26th vaar.

Baal jati hae Sree Chand Babana dehura Banaya.
 Lakhami Daasaho Dharam Chand pota hoye kae aapu ganaaya
 Manji Daasaho Bahalya Daata sidhaasan sikhi aaiya
 Mohanu Kamala hoiya chaubaaru Mohari manaaya,
 Meena hoa Pirthia kari kari tondhak baral chalaaya
 Mahadeo ahanmeo kari kari bemukhu putan bhaukaaya
 Chandan vaasu na vaas bohaaya. ::33:: ⁷¹

(Sree Chand was a celibate who built a mausoleum of his father. Dharam Chand s/o Lakhan Daas displayed his ego as grandson (of Guru Nanak). Daata made Daasu sit on the throne and himself became his disciple. Mohan became a maniac and seated Mohri outside his attic. Prithia, the hypocrite, showed his insanity through his harsh words. Mahadeo indulged in ego and was made by his sons bark like a dog. A bamboo tree lives near the sandal wood but remains unscented).

In this stanza Baba Mohan Ji's name precedes that of Baba Mohri which means that Bhai GurDaas Ji also considered Baba Mohan to be the elder son of Guru Amar Daas Ji. This also shows that our historians are forcibly associating attic with Baba Mohan's name whereas inside the attic it was Baba Mohri who sat.

When Mohan Ji saw his hopes Daashed to the ground, he lost the balance of his mind. According to Bhai GurDaas this shock was so unbearable that he fell prey to mania. It is evident that his attitude towards Guru Ram Daas Ji would have become that of nonco-operation. Baba Mohan's uncommon reaction shows that Baba Ji considered himself to have reached so near the seat of Guruship that he could not conceive any body as his rival. There was no end to the Sikhs moving around – the 16th stanza of the 11th vaar by Bhai GurDaas is full of their names.

The list also includes some persons who enjoyed the Guru's grace and blessings. But Baba Ji must be thinking; "I am the son of a Guru and the elder one too; my inclinations are spiritual and I am well-acquainted with the custom of the Guru's establishment. What else is needed to make me worthy of the Guruship?" In expectation of the Guruship he had deployed his son Sahansar Ram in the service of the Guru's establishment. This was the congratulatory mental state of Baba Mohan Ji, the elder son of Guru Amar Daas Ji when he received a bolt from the blue with his old Guru-father blessing his son-in-law with the Guruship, side-lining his own son. It seems that Baba Mohan Ji had been completely shaken—"Mohanu Kamla hoiya". One sign of his becoming maniac was that he turned his back on the new Guru i.e. Guru Ram Daas Ji. Perhaps as a symbol of his Guruship, he might have composed some verses with the label Nanak also but this should be deemed proved now that he persuaded his son Sahansar Raam to prepare a different collection of the bani. The Persians have a proverb: "Deewana bakaar-I-khesh Hoshiaar : which means that a person may be insane but he carefully watches his own interest. It seems that the person mentioned as "Kamla Mohan" by Bhai GurDaas was suffering from some such Persian madness⁷².

f) Sahansar Raam.

Baba Sahansar Raam son of Baba Mohan Ji and the grandson of Guru Amar Daas Ji has already got a place in the memory of tradition as the writer of the Pothees from Goindwal. I can give a non-specialist view of his being the writer of the Pothees but I consider myself to be unable to give a definite opinion like that of

the specialists of the manuscripts. It is not possible to assert whether Baba Sahansar Ram himself performed this job or did it jointly with others or got it done by the outside-writers. The Pothee contains the hand-writings of many persons. So much so, that even the 13 compositions of Gulaam himself reveal a glimpse of some other hand but one thing can be said with certainty that Baba Sahansar Ram was somehow related with the Pothee. The textual study of the Pothee has done one useful thing that it seems to have solved the question of the writer of the 13 compositions given under the label 'Gulaam'. Gulaam was none but Sahansar Ram. This conclusion has exposed the secret but strong desire of Baba Mohan-Baba Shahansar Ram to waylay the seat of the Guruship. If the Pothee had not contained the compositions of Sahansar Ram (Gulaam) with the label of Naanik, this mystery would never have been unravelled. These compositions hint at the back turned by this party towards lineage of Guruship in favour of Guru Ram Daas and Guru Arjan Dev.

Whatever our books may say about Baba Sahansar Ram, they do not provide any information of the above type because, as has already been stated, none of the writers of these books had ever seen the Pothee. Whatever Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha has written about Sahansar Ram in his Mahaankosh can be taken as the sum and substance of the writings of the previous writers:

“The son of Baba Mohan Ji and the grandson of Guru Amar Daas Ji, who had written the *Pothees* of Gurbani. Guru Arjan Sahib Ji had brought these *Pothees* from Baba Mohan Ji at the time of compiling the collection of Sree Guru Granth Sahib (page 177).

g) Sada Sewak.

The hardest riddle in the Pothee is that of Sada Sewak. As has already been indicated, no writer with this name or nom-de-plume has been mentioned in any new or old book. The Pothee contains a composition where the title Gulaam has been deleted and replaced by Sada Sewak. In addition, the Pothee contains two compositions where the writer has not felt the need of writing 'Gulaam' because the compositions run in continuity and the information about Gulaam has been given at the previous composition. Finding this space vacant Sada Sewak has casually appeared at these two verses but the hand-writing of the person writing 'Sada Sewak' is different; he has used different ink and this inscription is of a later date than the original composition. How can this be interpreted? Was the writer of these words deleting one name, it being an incorrect entry, and was replacing it with the name of the right writer? Had Gulaam forcibly owned the verses of some other writer, which have been corrected by some other person who knew it? Was Sada Sewak, a poet, who had made these corrections in his own hand? It also is possible that these amendments may not be included in the field of correction and the person deleting the name of Gulaam may be some poetaster who gratified himself by writing his own name on the verses of others.

To me, Sada Sewak seems to be a busy-body of the above last class. Some interpolator has played a joke on the readers and it is nothing else.

7) The metres and poetic forms indicated in the titles.

The titles given in the Pothee indicate the names of the metres of 15 hymns and names of the poetic forms of 4 hymns. 'Chhand' is the name connected with the poetics and its equivalent used in Sree Guru Granth Sahib is 'chhant' while the name of the

poetic form is Astpadi. According to Dr. Raminder Singh, a specialist of the poetics of Sree Guru Granth Sahib, the Chhand makes” an abundant use of kalas and kundlia metrical forms. According to poetics, in Singhavlokan device of kalas metre (A) two different metricals forms are admixed while in the kundlia metrical form, the doha metrical form is mixed with rola metrical form in accordance with Singhavlokeen devices A and B. But our writers of bani have not felt the need of using kundlia metrical form containing doha plus rola in the Gurbani. Our writers of bani have used kundlia metre containing variegated other metrical forms in the bani⁷³

The opinion of Dr. Raminder Singh automatically applies to the Pothee because the form of the metre in both the collections is common.

“On the contrary. Astpadi (stanza of 8 lines) is not a particular type of metre Sree Guru Granth Sahib shows numberless metres used under the title of Astpadi...⁷⁴.

Besides Chhand and Astpati titles in the Pothee do not make a reference to any other metrical or poetic form.

a) Comparison.

Guru Granth Sahib does not contain one of the 15 hymns which bear the above metric titles in the Pothee. Out of the remaining 14 hymns in Sree Guru Granth Sahib, 9 hymns do not have metric titles; only 5 hymns have the title Chhant atop them. Out of the 4 hymns with the title Astpadi in the Pothee, one is not titled in Sree Guru Granth Sahib; the remaining 3 have a title.

b) The Essence.

A total of 19 hymns in the Pothee have the titles indicating metrical or peotic form. Out of these, one hymn is not available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. Out of the remaining 18, 14 have the

name of the metre indicated atop them and 4 make a mention of the poetic form. Sree Guru Granth Sahib gives the name Astpadi atop 3 instead of 4; one out of these does not have this word. In contrast, while in the *Pothee*, 14 hymns give the information about the metre in Sree Guru Granth Sahib 9 out of these do not provide information about the metre and even in the 5 hymns where this information is available, the word Chhant has been used instead of Chhand. In this way, the comparison of titles of only 19 hymns as they are entered in the *Pothee* and Sree Guru Granth Sahib does not conceal the mutual differences.

X

The Sequence of the Hymns in the *Pothee*.

Has the compiler of the *Pothee* taken guidance from any of the prior compilers regarding the sequence of bani in the *Pothee* or not? For instance, was it his own invention or a borrowed device to distribute the bani according to the raags or to give priority, in each raag, to the verses of Gurus over those of the Bhagats? I suppose that he had a readymade specimen before him. It is true that he made one change—that of giving space to Gulaam between the Gurbani and the Bhagat-bani. On what basis would he have decided the order of the hymns? One thing can be said with certainty that when this *Pothee* was prepared it was not an older manuscript before the Gurbani. Before it there were some gutkas, some small or big compilations and some loose or unstitched sheets from where it was copied. Therefore, the greater probability is that wherever the readymade sequence was available in some gutka or *Pothee* it was retained as it was, but wherever the compiler had to make-do with some loose

sheets, even the sequence was intermixed. The hymns which became available later were included later or at the time of copying, as it can be seen in the portion of the Bhagat bani. This portion is quite scattered and out of order, particularly in the raags Maroo and Kedaara. This way, it is important to be very conscious before accepting the order of the text as it was. If some gutkaas or miscellaneous loose sheets out of the sources of the *Pothee* had been available with us, we could have said something definite about the sequence of the hymns. This comparison is not possible on the basis of the available manuscripts; but we can find out the quantity of congruence and incongruence by comparing the sequence of the hymns in the *Pothee* with that adopted in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. This effort can prove helpful in knowing whether or not the *Pothee* has exerted any influence on the compilation of the Aad Beed. In the first column of the ensuing table the order of the hymns in the *Pothee* has been given; the 2nd column shows the place given to them in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. It has been tried that the hymns by the 4th and the 5th Gurus should be sorted out so that the comparison can be confined to the bani of the 1st 3 Gurus and the hymns which do not exist in the *Pothee* may not be used for comparison. A cross has been put for the hymns which are not available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. These tables are arranged according to the raags and the interpolated raags have been left out:

1. Raag Soohi.

S.No.	S.No. in Sree Guru	S.No. of	S.No.
	in Sree Guru		

Of the	Granth Sahib (The		the Pothee
	Granth Sahib (The		
Pothee.	Hymns of the 1st 3		
	hymns of the 1 st 3		
Gurus		Gurus	
1	1	4	19
2	2	5	20
3	10	6	3
7	19	28	15
8	11	29	16
9	4	30	12
10	5	31	13
11	6	32	x
12	22	33	x
13	22	34	x
14	24	35	x
15	27	36	x
16	28	37	44
17	29	38	40
18	30	39	41
19	31	40	41
20	32	41	43
21	33	42	35
22	25	43	36
23	26	44	37
24	26	45	43
25	17	46	x
26	14	47	x

The raag Soohi in the Pothee contains 48 hymns 9 out of which do not exist in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. Out of the remaining 39 hymns. Only 3 hymns (1st, 2nd and 7th) are in the same order in Sree Guru Granth Sahib as in the Pothee. The sequence of the remaining 36 hymns differs. This means that Guru Arjan Dev Ji has not taken any guidance about the sequence of the hymns of this raag, from the Pothee. The real fact in respect of the examination of this aspect which emerges again and again is that the sources of the Pothee and Sree Guru Granth Sahib are different. Therefore, these two compilations have followed their own sources and the one has not followed the other.

2. Raag Parbhaatee.

S.No. in Sree Guru	S.No. in Sree Guru Of the	S.No. of Granth Sahib (The Granth Sahib (The Pothee.	S.No. the Pothee
		Hymns of the 1st 3 Gurus)	
		hymns of the 1 st 3 Gurus)	
1	1	25	25
2	2	26	26
3	3	27	27
4	4	28	28
5	5	29	29
6	6	30	30
7	7	31	31
8	8	32	23
9	9	33	32
10	10	34	33
11	11	35	x

12	12	36	x
13	13	37	Available in raag soohi
14	14	38	34
15	15	39	39
16	16	40	35
17	17	41	36
18	18	42	37
19	19	43	40
20	20	44	41
21	22	45	42
22		46	38
23	Available in	47	Available in raag soohi
24	raag Soohi		

Raag Parbhati has a total of 47 hymns out of which 2 are not available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib (S.No. 35 and 36). The thing to be noticed is that 4 hymns given in raag Parbhaatee in the *Pothee* have been given in Sree Guru Granth Sahib in raag soohi. Out of the remaining 41 hymns the sequence of 31 hymns is the same. If one wants to derive a simple conclusion from this similarity, that the Guru Sahib was copying from the *Pothee*, it will be a mis-conception – First, 4 hymns of raag Parbhaatee in the *Pothee* have been included in raag Soohi. Secondly, one will have to find a convincing explanation for the difference in sequence of the other 10 hymns. A satisfactory explanation of this conduct will be that the manuscript from which the bani of this raag was copied contained a readymade sequence and the *Pothees* also accepted it as it was. Incidentally, the collection reaching Guru Arjan Dev Ji also had the same sequence. If it is

considered in the context of all other raags, no other explanation appeals to the mind.

3. Raag Dhanaasree

(This raag contains bani under the titles of the 4th and 5th Guru)

S.No.	S.No. in Sree Guru	S.No. of	S.No.
Of the	Granth Sahib (The		the <i>Pothee</i>
	Granth Sahib (The		
<i>Pothee</i> .	Hymns of the 1st 3		
	hymns of the 1 st 3		
Gurus)		Gurus)	
1	1	17	16
2	2	18	17
3	3	19	9
4	4	20	31
5	5	21	61
6	6	22	93
7	7	23	94
8	8	24	95
9	18	25	90
10	x	26	91
11	10	27	x
12	11	28	108
13	12	29	105
14	14	30	98
15	17	31	99
16	9	32	100
33	103	39	x
34	101	40	x

35	107	41	112
36	104	42	111
37	109	43	106
38	110		

The above table of raag Dhanaassari shows that out of a total of 43 hymns, 4 (S.nos. 10,27, 39 and 40) do not exist in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. Out of the remaining 39 hymns, the sequence of only the 1st 8 hymns is the same. All these 8 hymns have been composed by Sree Guru Nanak Dev Ji. The sequence of the remaining 31 hymns is different. For those who consider the *Pothee* to be the main source of Sree Guru Granth Sahib, this raag raises a big question. In the *Pothee* allegedly prepared under the supervision of Guru Amar Daas Ji. why did his own grandson (maternal) disturb the order of Guru Amar Daas's bani? If the *Pothee* had been prepared under the very supervision of Guru Amar Daas Ji, what immediate need did Guru Arjan Dev Ji feel to change the sequence of the bani of his maternal grandfather; particularly, when he did not deem it fit to upset the order of the hymns of Sree Guru Nanak Dev Ji? The only satisfactory answer to such questions is the same as has been suggested while considering the sequence of raags earlier—that both the complications were availing themselves of different sources.

The *Pothee* contains the hymns of the 4th and 5th Gurus under raag Dhanaasree. Therefore, the above table takes into account the hymns from the 1st to 5th Gurus in both the compilations. But if it is presumed that the hymns of the 4th and the 5th Gurus are a later interpolation, the sequence of the hymns of the first three Gurus (i.e. excluding the bani of the 4th and 5th Gurus) will be as follows : the hymns by the 4th and the 5th Gurus

the composition by all other writers in the *Pothee* have been included in these lists.

S.No.	Sequence in Sree Guru Sequence in Sree Guru of the Granth Sahib (The Granth Sahib (The Pothee. Bani and the Bhagats) of the 1 st 3 Gurus of the 1 st 3 Gurus and the Bhagats)	Sequence of the Pothee Bani
1	1	25
2	2	26
3	3	27
4	4	28
5	5	29
6	6	30
7	7	31
8	8	32
9	18	33
10	10	34
11	11	35
12	12	36
13	13	37
14	14	38
15	15	39
16	16	40
17	17	

18	9
19	21
20	22
21	23
22	19
23	20
24	x

According to the above detail, 3 hymns out of 40 in the Pothee do not exist in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. Out of the remaining 37 hymns only 18 are in the same order while the sequence of the remaining 19 differs.

If both the lists are considered simultaneously comparing one with the other, the element of their difference is much heavier than that of their similarity.

4. Raag Basant

(This raag contains hymns under the title of the 4th Guru but has no hymn by the 5th Guru)

Sequence	Sequence in Sree Guru	S.No. of
Of the	Sequence in Sree Guru	
Pothee(Including	Granth Sahib (Including the	the
Pothee	Granth Sahib (Including the	
	hymns of the 4 th Gurus)	the Bani of the
	hymns of the 4 th Gurus)	
Including the		Gurus)
Bani of the		
4 th Gurus)		
1	1	16
		12

2	2	17	27
3	3	18	28
4	9	19	29
5	10	20	30
6	11	21	15
7	4	22	16
8	8	23	17
9	13	24	18
10	25	25	19
11	26	26	20
12	14	27	21
13	5	28	22
14	6	29	23
15	7	30	24
31	45	42	51
32	38	43	47
33	39	44	48
34	42	45	53
35	40	46	45
36	43	47	56
37	44	48	58
38	41	49	49
39	x	50	50
40	x	51	x
41	54	52	(This hymn
has already			
		occurred	at
Sr.No.42 in the			
		Pothee)	

The total number of 52 hymns under raag basant also includes the hymns titled under the name of the 4th Guru. Therefore, the hymns by the 5th Guru have not been included in the above list. The 3 hymns, among these (S.No. 39, 40 and 51) do not exist in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. Out of the remaining 49 hymns only 4 hymns have a common serial number (1, 2, 3 and 8). The serial order of the remaining 45 hymns varies. This similarity and dissimilarity lend forceful support to the Editor's view regarding independent sources for the two compilations.

If it is presumed that the titles of the 4th Guru or the hymns written under those titles have been entered by some other hand than the original writer of the Pothee, after taking out the hymns by the 4th Guru from both the lists the sequence does not vary at all. The congruence between the 4 hymns and the incongruence between the remaining 45 hymns remain as they were.

5. Raag Bhaero

Sequence	Sequence in Sree Guru Sequence in Sree Guru Of the Granth Sahib (Excluding Granth Sahib (Excluding Pothee. the hymns of the 4 th & 5 th the hymns of the 4 th & 5 th (Gurus)	Sequence of the Pothee
1	1	27
		27

2	9	28	30
3	10	29	32
4	11	30	31
5	12	31	28
6	13	32	29
7	2	33	x
8	3	34	x
9	4	35	x
10	5	36	34(only the
last lines on this			
11	6		him are
available)			
12	7	37	43
13	8	38	53
14	14	39	35
15	15	40	54
16	16	41	42
17	17	42	59
18	18	43	64
19	19	44	51
20	20	45	36
21	21	46	56
22	22	47	61
23	23	48	33
24	24	49	41
25	25	50	55
26	26	51	57
52	37	58	x
53	38	59	x
54	60	60	62

55	44	61	62
56	45	62	58
57	63	63	46

The *Pothee* contains 63 hymns of raag Bhaero 4 out of these hymns do not exist in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. Out of the remaining 59 hymns, only one (S.No. 1) has been placed at this serial number in both the collections. 14 other hymns (at S.No. 14 to 27) have the common serial number. The remaining 44 hymns have a different serial number. Can some impartial examiner of the medieval texts say in the light of the above detail that Guru Arjan Dev Ji had before him the sequence of the hymns in the *Pothee* while preparing his new collection of the bani.

6. Raag Maaroo and Kedaara

In the *Pothee*, the raags Maaroo and kedaara are mutually inter-mixed. Atop 12 hymns the title kedaara has been deleted and replaced by Maaroo; one hymn bears the title of a subordinate raag Maroo-kedaara. If the present sequence of the *Pothee* is not interfered with, the order of raags Maaroo and kedaara will be as under :

*	Maaroo	:	11 hymns
*	Kedaara	:	4 hymns (including 1 deleted composition)
*	Kedaara-Maraoo	:	1 hymn
*	Maaroo	:	4 hymns
*	Maaroo-kedaara	:	1 hymn
*	Kedaara	:	6 hymns
*	Kedaara-Maaroo	:	1 hymn

According to the above list, in the beginning there is continuous sequence of raag Maaroo which consists of 11 hymns. If we compare the sequence of these hymns with that in Sree Guru Granth Sahib the table will be as under

Sequence	Sequence in Sree Guru	Sequence of
	Sequence in Sree Guru	
Of the	Granth Sahib (Excluding	the <i>Pothee</i>
	Granth Sahib (Excluding the	
<i>Pothee</i> .	the hymns of the 4 th & 5 th	
	the hymns of the 4 th & 5 th	
	Gurus)	

1	1	7	7
2	2	8	13
3	3	9	8
4	4	10	9
5	5	11	89
6	6		

The first 7 hymns out of these are in the same order and all these hymns are by Guru Nanak Dev Ji. The serial order of the remaining 4 differs.

Just because the sequence of the hymns of kedaara and Maroo next to the 11th hymn can not be formulated, therefore, they have been ignored.

7. Raag Tilang

S.No.	S.No. in Sree Guru	S.No. of	S.No.
	in Sree Guru		
Of the	Granth Sahib (Except the	the <i>Pothee</i>	
	Granth Sahib (Except the		
<i>Pothee</i> .	hymns of the 4 th & 5 th		
	hymns of the 4 th & 5 th		

	Gurus)		
	Gurus)		
1	1	4	5
2	2	5	x
3	6	6	8

The raag Tilang contains only 6 hymns out of which one does not exist in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. Out of the remaining 5 hymns the sequence of the 1st two hymns is the same while the serial order of 3 hymns is different.

8. The Essence.

On comparison of the sequence of hymns in the Pothee and Sree Guru Granth Sahib their mutual differences have come out in a bolder relief. The comparison of the sequence of bani⁷⁵ available in the Pothee under various raag titles with the sequence of the hymns in Sree Guru Granth Sahib shows that there is great difference of sequence of those hymns in those raags themselves, as it has been pointed out earlier also. This dissimilarity in the sequence of the raags in the two collections is a sort of a fore-warning of the mutual distance between the two compilations in the matter of the order of the raag titles of the hymns thereunder. The order of the hymns given under these raags is similar as well as dissimilar but how the element of dissimilarity is heavier than that of similarity can be judged from the account of their proportion given next. The proportion of the sequential types according to raags is as under :

Soohi=92.31%; Parbhati = 24.39%; Dhanaasree = (including bani of the 4th and 5th Gurus) 80% and (excluding the

bani of 4th and 5th Gurus) = 51.55%; Basant = 91.83%; Bhaeroo = 74.57%; Maaroo = 36.36 % and Tilang = 60%.

If we compare and contrast the figures of similarity and dissimilarity between the hymns of 7 raags we come to know that the similarity of sequence is only 31.4% and dissimilarity therein is 68.6%.

In my view the above proportions bear witness to the fact that in the matter of the sequence the two collections are independent of each other.

XI

The numbers in the Pothee.

An aspect of the *Pothee* worth-notice are its numbers. These are available inside the margin as well as outside it and can be seen on both sides of the leaves i.e. a and b. The figures inside the margin are related to the number of hymns written in the Pothee and the number of their various parts. In addition to these there is another type of internal figures, which is not visible in any other manuscript than the Pothee. This will be discussed later in this book. The figures given outside the margin usually indicate the number of the sheets, which prove to have been put on two different occasions. This way the problem of the figures becomes multifaceted because the figures have been used to fulfil many purposes. Just because they are connected with the compilation and editing of the Pothee, it is necessary to understand every type of the figures. For the sake of clarity we shall consider every type of figures independently.

1. The Numbers inside the margin.

The compilations of Bhagti-poetry occupy a very important place in the regional Indian languages of the medieval period. It does not take long after studying some published books and unpublished manuscripts that the compilers, to some extent, completed the work of editing side by side. Though this device has come from the ancient Sanskrit literature, yet universality and firmness with which the writers and compilers of the new Indian languages adopted it during the medieval ages are praiseworthy. This device must have been born out of the desire to escape interpolation; but its pervasiveness shows that the interpolators were quite active during every age and in every language. Sometime back, the writer of these lines had a chance to see a manuscript of Gyaneshwari written by Shri Gyan Dev, at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. The information given at the end of every chapter shows how the writers were afraid of the interpolators and therefore, how they had to put in extra labour to maintain the purity of their work. The information given at the end of the 9th chapter is as under :

Navmodhiaya ::9:: Sree Kri

Number ::Adhiaya ::9::Shlok ::34::

Translation::535::leaves 43::

Among the compilations available in Punjabi-Gurmukhi, the largest, the grandest and the most prestigious compilation was prepared in the year 1604 A.D. under the direct supervision of Guru Arjan Dev. In this compilation the figures serve a very significant purpose. Here, we do not want to start any discussion on the system of figures in the Beed compiled by Guru Arjan Dev Ji. Only for the sake of comparison we will talk as per the need. But it will be proper to settle one thing here. The writer of these lines believes that the device of using figures to

indicate the umber in the bani had not started from the time of Guru Arjan Dev Ji but from that of Guru Nanak Dev Ji. The work of compiling and copying along with the composition of the bani was done leisurely at Kartarpur (Sialkot). It reached its climax at the time of Guru Arjan Dev Ji, passing through Guru Angad Dev, Guru Amar Daas and Guru Ram Daas. The references to maintain the purity of Gurbani, to escape the unauthentic compositions and to learn the authentic one are usually found in the bani of Guru Amar Daas Ji and Guru Ram Daas Ji. In fact, the work of affirming and safeguarding the standard and purity of Gurbani and its philanthropic greatness in the spiritual field had been started by Guru Nanak Dev Ji himself. The line being presented below from the 8th solaha in raag Maaroo is composed by Guru Nanak Dev Ji.

“Satiguru ki bani sati sati kari manaho ion aatam raamae leena he.” (page 1028). In his long composition ‘Oankaar’ he endows the Gurbani with a status of one descended from eternity:

“Bani biralau beechaarsee je ko gurmukhi hoye.

Eh bani maha purakh kee nij ghari vaaa hoye.”

(page 935)

Sree Guru Amar Daas Ji has well defined this aspect of the authentic and unauthentic bani in his composition titled ‘Anand’:

“Aavaho sikh Satiguru ke piariho gavaho sachi bani.

Bani te gavaho Guru keru baniya sree bani”.

.....

“Satiguru bina hor kachi hae bani”.

.....

“kehde kache sundae kache kachee aakhi wakhaani.

Chitu jin ka hiri laya maaya bolni paye ravaani” (page 920).

The tone and tenor of Guru Ram Daas Ji is not different from that of his spiritual predecessors:

“Bani Guru Guru hae bani vichi bani Amrit saare”. (page 982)

In raag soohi he tells about his own conduct :

“Mae gurbani aadhaaru hae gurbani laagi rahao. (page 759).

In raag Aaasa he states that there are many banis but the one to be followed is that by the Gurus “Ratna Ratan padaarath bahu saagar bhariya Raam.

Bani gurbani laage tin hathi chadiya Raam (page 442).

Who can be more vociferous than Guru Raam Daas Ji in respect of the unauthentic bani:

Satigur kee bani sati saroopu hae gurbani baniyae.

Satigur kee reesae hori kachu pichu bolde se koodiyar koode jhadi padiyae (Raag Gaudi, page 304.)

The 5th Guru has given a clear judgement by a hint that God does not at all approve of what is not Gurbani:

“Gur poore kee bani, parbrahm mani bhani.

Nanak Daasi vakhaani: nirmal akath kahaani”. (Raag Sorathi, page 629).

A great instrument to protect and secure the purity of Gurbani during the medieval era were the figures. Just because the *Pothees* from Goindwal had originated in the pervasive atmosphere and the tradition in which Guru Arjan Dev Ji has prepared his Beed, there is an abundant use of figures in the *Pothee* from Ahiyapur also.

a) Pre-determined Rules.

We need to know some rules used by the compiler of the *Pothee* in order to understand

properly the system of figures adopted by him. The rules which the study of *Pothee* has

brought into relief can be delineated as under :

- Every stanza of every composition included in the Pothee will be given a serial number. If a composition consists of 4 stanzas, the figure 1 will be put at the end of the 1st stanza; figure 2 will show the conclusion of the 2nd stanza; and similarly the situation pertaining to the 3rd and 4th stanza will be clarified by putting the figures 3 and 4 at the end of the 3rd and 4th stanzas respectively.
- Usually the stanza of rahaaao will be given after the conclusion of the 1st stanza and the figure 1 will be put as “::1:: rahaaao:” at the end. Thereafter, the serial number of the stanzas will start from 2 and will continue up to the last stanza in that order.
- The serial number of every hymn/composition included in the collection will be given separately after the total of the stanzas. This way at the conclusion of every composition there will be two figures giving separate information. The first figure will indicate the number of the stanzas and the second figure will show the serial total of the hymn-units.
- In the same raag the continuity of the figures will not be broken by the change of the writer; but in the same raag the serial number of the bani by the revered Gurus will be different from that by the Bhagats. In the same way the compositions of Gulaam and Sada Sewak have different serial number though the number of their compositions may be very small.
- New serial number will be started after the change of the form or the frame or the body of the bani. For instance, if there are Ashtpadis after chaupaDaas, a separate serial number will start.

Now we shall see whether or not all the compositions included in the Pothee have been able to follow the rules adopted by the compiler. If they have followed those rules the Pothee will be compared with Sree Guru Granth Sahib to find out the congruences and incongruences.

b) Numbers of the Stanzas.

The survey of how far the compiler of the Pothee has followed the sequence in which it has given pre-determined rules will be done in the ensuing pages. We first consider the system of numbering the stanzas with a pause or indicating the place of stanza with a pause in the compiled hymns. The device of numbering the stanzas of the hymns is that usually figure ::1:: is put after the 1st stanza to indicate that the 1st stanza has come to an end. It is not followed by the 2nd stanza but by the stanza of pause. At the end of this stanza also figure '1' is put. With this device the stanza of the pause becomes the part of the hymn and also does not. It becomes the part of the hymn because it has been given a place immediately after the 1st stanza where there is no danger of its being neglected, being lost or getting inter-related with some other hymn. It does not become the part of the hymn because it is not accounted for in the total number of the stanzas. After the conclusion of the stanza of the pause concerned, figures like 2, 3, 4 etc are put to indicate the serial number of the stanza of the hymn.

So far as the numbering of the 1st stanza is concerned the Pothee has used adequate caution. The truth is that not only in putting figure '1' at the end of the 1st stanza, but also at the end of all stanzas this caution seems to have been employed. The number of the stanzas in all the hymns in the Pothee is not uniform. The smallest specimens are those which the compiler

of the *Pothee* has taken to be consisting of only 1 stanza, as for example on page 3b, the hymn “Majhu kuchaji amaavani dosade kio sahu raavani jao jeeo”; on page 4b the hymn (Ja too ta mae sabhu koye too sacha meri raasi jeeo) and on 10b the hymn (Bhaada hachha jo tisu bhaavsi). The largest composition consists of 34 stanzas (Hymn No. 25/page 43b). In addition to these there are compositions with 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 15 stanzas but the writer has not dozed off while numbering the stanzas of these compositions. On page 300b he has not put figure 4 at the conclusion of the 4th stanza but this entire inscription is in a different hand and not by the original writer.

c) The figures of the pause-stanzas.

That singers have to repeat the lines of pause after every stanza because they represent essence of the hymn. In putting figure 1 at the conclusion of the pause-stanza, the writer/writers have employed adequate care⁷⁶. Still there are some expectations; as for instance :

On page 54a of the *Pothee* figure 1 is put after the 1st stanza of the hymn written by Gulaam and deleted. After the next two lines, the word ‘rahao’ is no doubt written but the 2nd figure 1 to indicate the conclusion of the pause-stanza has not been written.

On page 57b, figure 1 is put after the 1st stanza of the hymn by Bhagat Ravi Daas. There is the figure 1 after the next two lines also but the word ‘rahao’ (pause) has not been put while in *Sree Guru Granth Sahib* the word rahao has been added after the second figure 1 (page 794)

On page 69a, the figure 1 has been put after the 1st 3 lines of the hymn. After the next 2 lines the word rahao has been put

but figure 1 has not been put. On the contrary in Sree Guru Granth Sahib figure 1 precedes the word rahaaao (page 1330).

On page 76b also, figure 1 has been written each after the 1st stanza and after the two lines of pause but the word rahao has not been written there. In Sree Guru Granth Sahib the word rahao has been given after the 2nd figure 1 (page 1332).

On page 155b figure 1 has been added after the initial two lines and the word lines; but the figure 1 has not been ut before or after it. In Sree Guru Granth Sahib the 2nd figure 1 is extant before the word rahao (page 692.)

At the end of the page 184a two lines of the 1st stanza of a hymn conclude. Figure 1 is written there. On the next page i.e. 184b figure 1 is put in the beginning and it is followed by the word rahao erroneously. The figure 1 after the next two lines was to be followed by the word rahao but no such thing has been done; while in Sree Guru Granth Sahib the 1st figure 1, the 2nd figure 1 and the word rahao have been correctly placed (page 1176).

On page 220a, the word rahao is written after figure 1 at the conclusion of the 1st stanza. Next to it the stanzas are followed by figures 1, 2 and 3. The text of this hymn is different from the text in Sree Guru Granth Sahib In both the collections, the figures 1 and the word rahaaao have been put after the 1st two lines but in the Pothee, 2nd figure 1 has been put after the next two lines while in Sree Guru Granth Sahib the lines of the 1st stanza have not been accepted, on which account this stanza along with its figure 1 is missing. But the figures of the next 3 stanzas in the *Pothee* are the same as in Sree Guru Granth Sahib (page 1194).

On page 282b figure 1 is put at the conclusion of the 1st topmost line. The writing after the next two lines is as under :

::1::rahao::1:: in Sree Guru Granth Sahib, figure 1 at the end of the 1st stanza agrees with that in the *Pothae* but the 2nd figure 1 or the one after the pause is written as under : ::1::rahao:: (page 1104).

On page 287a figure 1 is available after the two lines of the 1st stanza. Figure 1 also occurs at the end of the next two lines, which touches the margin but at the end of the next line ::1::rahaao:: has been written afresh. On the contrary in Sree Guru Granth Sahib only rahaao is written after the second figure 1: extra figure 1 has not been put (page 1123).

On page 119b there is a hymn by Guru Nanak Dev Ji, the way of writing of which is different from that of all other hymns because all the four of its stanzas are followed by the lines of the pause while in all other hymns these lines are no doubt sung at the time of musical rendering but their mention is not clearly made in writing; their existence is only supposed. In the *Pothae* like all other hymns the 1st two lines are followed by figure 1 and the next two lines are followed by figure 1 and word rahaao. Next to them the 2nd stanza is followed by the figure 2 and the lines of the pause at the end of which ::2:: rahao:: have been written. In the same way the 3rd stanza is followed by the figures 3 and the lines of rahaao are next to it. Exactly on this very pattern the 4th stanza concludes with the lines of pause followed by ::4::rahao::.. In Sree Guru Granth Sahib the lines of rahao are there as in the *Pothae* but instead of numbering every stanza, only figure 1 has been used as for instance the 2nd stanza concludes with rahao as under : (::1::rahao). In the same way the figure 4 is at its place after the 4th stanza but instead of ::4:: rahao:: the line of the pause is followed by ::1::rahao::.

d) The figures indicating the total.

The lack of simplicity and uniformity in the system of totalling and the sequence of hymns in the *Pothee* needs some more time to explain because the hymns of every new raag start with a new series. As such, we try to understand the totalling system of the hymns of these raags by separating them as per the raag. It has already been seen that in the *Pothee* every stanza of every hymn has been given a number. The next effort was to give the grand total of the hymns. The last stanza of every hymn is followed by the total indicating the place of the hymn and the total of all previous hymns in the current series. This has already been seen and now we shall see the examples of its system in various raags.

h) Raag Soohi.

In the *Pothee* under raag Soohi the totalling numbers run in continuity from the 1st to the 11th hymn. At the conclusion of these 11 hymns double figures are given; as for example : ::4::2::.....:6:: :3:: (It implies that the 3rd hymn with 6 stanza has come to an end ::1:::4:: means (4th hymn with one stanza). The first number stands for the number of stanzas in a hymn and as has already been stated the 2nd figure gives a serial number of the particular hymn.

Next, a new series starts from the 12th hymn and runs continuously up to the 31st hymn. This series contains Chhands (Chhants). In this series there are 3 totals instead of 2: ::4:: :1:: :12:: :4::2::3:::4::3::14::.. In all these 3 examples the 1st figure 4 means that the concerned chhand has 4 stanzas; the numbers 1, 2 and 3 at the 2nd place imply 1st, 2nd and 3rd chhand in the series of the chhands and the figures 12, 13 and 14 at the 3rd place connote that including previous 11 hymns now the total of hymns comes to 12, 13 or 14.

The use of this counting is evident from one example in this series. The number of Chhands is 24 and the line indicating it reads : ::9::13::Chhad::24:: (page 37b). At the conclusion of the next hymn the line indicating the numbers is as follows : ::34::1::25::.. In numerical language it means that the total number of chhants was 13 which has come to an end. The total number including 11 hymns and 13 Chhands is 24. Next a new bani with 34 stanzas commences. If we accept this new bani as a unit and add it to the previous total the grand total will come to 25 which is entered here but between 24th and 26th totals there is another composition on page 38a which having not been accounted for, automatically proves to be a later interpolation.

The 29th total has erroneously been written as follows : ::8::29::2:. This series with 3 columns comes to a sudden end after reaching the 31st total. The 31st composition is on page 53b. This is an incomplete hymn of 2 stanzas which according to the title is written by Gulaam. The page 54a carries another composition of Gulaam which has been deleted like some of his other compositions. At the conclusion of this composition the number of stanzas only has been given (::6) ; the grand total has not been indicated. This is followed by a composition by Sada Sewak which starts with the initial lines of Gulaam's incomplete verse and at the end of which is written ::4::2::.. It can only mean that the person who has given the total has not counted the incomplete verse of Gulaam. His complete verse has been considered to be the 1st and the one by the Sada Sewak has been taken as the 2nd. The next composition again is by Gulaam. At the conclusion of it the number of the stanzas has no doubt been given (::4::); but the writer is silent about the grand total.

It is followed by the commencement of the Bhagat bani which causes the beginning of the new serial number ::4::1::;::3::2::;::3::3:: etc. and this series continues up to the end of raag Soohi. The page 62a carries the conclusion of the last hymn of this raag and the conclusive entry is ::8::12::. In fact, here the number should have been 13 instead of 12 because the enumerator has erroneously counted the 4th hymn twice and this mistake has persisted up to the end. The grand total of all the units like numbered Gurbani, verses of Gulaam and Sada Sewak and Bhagat Bani in raag Soohi has not been given in the Pothee but it comes to 48:

Gurbani	Gulaam/	Bhagat	Grant
Total	Sada Sewak	Bani	
31	3/1	13	48

ii) Raag Parbhaatee

Raag Parbhaatee commences after the last hymn of raag Soohi. In this raag also the figures at the conclusion of the hymns are given in two columns. The 1st indicates the total number of stanzas and the 2nd gives the grand total of the hymns. This series runs continuously up to the 22nd hymn on page 81a. It is followed next by two ChaupaDaas of Parbhaatee Lalita, the numbers of which ::4::1::and::4::2:: have been given separately. Thereafter, Astpadis start and, therefore, the serial counting again commences anew with 1 and runs continuously up to the page 101b. The last figures on this page are ::8::10:: which means that the last composition consisted of 8 stanzas and was the 10th in serial order. The continuity of this series is broken by

two compositions of Gulaam, the indicative figures of which are : :1:: and ::2::.

Thereafter because the Bhagat bani commences, series of figures also starts afresh. On page 104b the Bhagat bani starts with a hymn of Kabir Ji. The series which starts here concludes on page 113b. Concluding figures at the end of its last hymn are as under : ::4::11::.. The detail of the hymns in this raag is as follows :

Gurbani	Gulaam	Bhagat Bani	Grand
Total			
34	2	11	47

iii) Raag Dhanaasree.

After raag Parbhaatee, all the pages from 114a to 119a are lying blank. Raag Dhanaasree begins on page 119b and it causes the beginning of the new series. The 20 hymns of this raag conclude on page 137a. The serial total is not given after the next hymn consisting of 2 stanzas, which finishes on page 138a. The writer of this hymn also has not been mentioned but the writer of the hymn prior to it has been mentioned as the 5th Guru. Then next to it, 3 Chhands of Guru Nanak Dev Ji have been given together on pages 138b to 144b and their serial numbers 1, 2 and 3 have been given separately. Next to them, the writers of the two Astpadis ending on pages 147a and 149a have not been mentioned but they have been treated as a class apart by giving them the serial No. 1 and 2. The next composition of Sada Sewak starting on page 149b, which always comes into being as a separate entity seems to maintain its separate class by the figure 1 at the end on page 150a. The figure 1 of the next hymn on page 151b indicates the beginning of the Bhagat bani. This series ends

with the 16th hymn on page 164a. Its serial number is written as ::3::16::.. Next to it, a hymn by Bhagat Nam Dev Ji which is written on page 165a concludes with figure 1 at the end. Its script is Lande and it has been written later on a page previously left blank. As such we take it to be an interpolation. The pages next to it upto page 168a are lying blank.

The detail of the hymns under raag Dhanaasree is as under :

Gurbani	Sada Sewak	Bhagat Bani
Grand Total		
26	1	16
		43

iv) Raag Basant.

The series of 30 hymns of raag Basant starts on page 168b and concludes on page 194a. The pages 195b and 196a are lying blank. The series which commences on page 196b moves continuously upto the page 205b The figures at the end are : ::8::8::.. The 1st hymn of Sada Sewak starts on page 206a and his 2nd hymn starts on page 206b. Their serial numbers respectively are : ::4::1::and::5::2::.. The next two pages i.e. 207b and 208a are lying blank. It seems that the page 208b also was blank but now it bears Bhagat Raamanand's hymn "Ek divisi mani bhayo omang...." Which concludes on page 209a. The figures at its end are ::3::1::.. Next to it the pages from 209b to 215a are left blank. The genuine Bhagat bani commences on page 216b. Here it starts with Bhagat Kabir Ji's hymn "Mauli dharati mauliya akaas"; but prior to it another hymn by Bhagat Kabir with three stanzas. "Iss tan man meh madan chor" is written on page 215b like Raamanand Ji's hymn on a blank page. Just because this hymn

is from outside the file, at its end only the number of stanzas has been given ::3::.

The series of the Bhagat bani starting on page 216b concludes on page 222a with the figures ::3::9::. At the end of page 222a. after the figures ::3::9:: the 1st 6 lines of the hymn already written on page 215b “Iss tan man meh madan chor” have been written and deleted. With this Basant raag comes to an end. The detail of this raag is as under :

Gurbani	Sada Sewak	Bhagat Bani
Grand Total		
38	2	12
		52

(v) Raag Bhaeroo.

Raag Basant is followed by raag Bhaero, the first series of 27 hymns of which starts on page 222b and concludes on page 240b. The concluding figures are : ::4::27::. The pages from 241a to 242a are lying blank. The next series of 5 hymns is by the Gurus and though the first hymn bears the title Astpadi, the remaining 4 hymns do not have any such title. The concluding figures of these 5 hymns are respectively; ::9::1::, ::8::2::, ::13::3::5::4:: and ::5::5::. With these the Gurbani comes to an end. Three compositions of Sada Sewak start on page 250a. These compositions conclude on page 251a and the concluding figures of these 3 are respectively : ::4::1::, ::5::1::; and ::4::2::”. Next to these a series of 28 hyns of Bhagat Bani runs up to page 268a. The concluding figures of the 28th hymn are : ::3::28::’. Here raag Bhaeroo comes to an end. The detail of all the entries under this raag is as the following :

Gurbani	Sada Sewak	Bhagat bani	
Grand Total			
32	3	28	63

(vi) Raag Maaroo and Kedaara.

The hymns of raag Maaroo and Kedaara in the *Pothee* seem to be mutually intermixed. Never-the-less the number of hymns of Gurbani, Saa Sewak and Bhagat bani has been counted on the pattern of the previous all raags of the *Pothee* For instance, the 1st 10 hymns in raag Maaroo are composed by the Gurus and the serial number at the end of the 10th hymn is ::10::'. There is one hymn by Sada Sewak and figure 1 has been written at its end which indicates its serial number. Next to it Bhagat bani starts and in the beginning a hymn by Bhagat Jaidev 'Chandu sati bhedia naadu sati pooria suri satu khodisu datu keeya' is given. Bhagat Bani concludes on page 288b and the serial number given at the end of the last hymn indicates ::17:: as the total number of the hymns. The detail of all the hymns in this raag is as under :

Gurbani	Sada Sewak	Bhagat Bani	
Grand Total			
10	1	17	28

In the above order the *Pothee* has violated its predetermined rules because the serial number has not been changed with that of the raag. Raag Maaroo is followed by Kedaara and Kedaara is again followed by Maroo; but it does not matter for the enumerator who continues the serial number of the hymns without any break. The cause can be that; afterwards, he has in an unauthorized way deleted the titles indicating the raag.

The figures do not misrepresent though these have been put by some later writer.

(vii) Raag Tilang.

Raag Tilang contains only 6 hymns. The 1st 4 are by Guru Nanak Sahib, the 5th is untitled and the 6th is by Bhagat Kabir. At the end of these, including the untitled hymn the figures ::5:: indicates the serialization of 5 hymns which shows that the person making the entries of hymns of raag Tilang considers untitled composition to be by Guru Nanak Dev Ji. This hymn, the 1st line of which is : Allah eku kareemu kudrati sachu kadru paaku (page 297a) is not available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. The hymn by Kabir given at the end is without the serial number, on which account it is not possible to know whether the writer counts this hymn in the previous series and brings the total to 6 or he wants to show it as a separate composition of the Bhagat bani by putting serial number ::1:: at the end. The detail of hymns under this raag is as under :

Gurbani	Sada Sewak/	Gulaam	Bhagat	Banai
Grand Total				
5	x	x	1	6

(f) Unknown figures.

Inside the margin there is such a category of figures as I have not seen in any other manuscript. I am not yet clear about the intention of the writer of these. Therefore, I have called them 'unknown' figures. The 1st figure of this type occurs on page 9a of the *Pothee* where the 8 hymns in raag Soohi by Guru Nanak Dev Ji conclude. On this very page, hymns by Guru Amar Daas Ji start. Below the last hymn of Guru Nanak inside the right hand

margin there are 3 horizontal lines the initial ends of which are linked together with some thing like a hook and below them the figure 1 is put. Next to it similar 3 lines are put on page 17b there are 1 hymn by Guru Amar Daas Ji, 1 hymn by Guru Angad Dev Ji, another hymn by Guru Amar Daas Ji and 3 chhants by Guru Nanak Dev Ji. The way the bani of 3 Gurus is entered between the 1st and the 2nd figures of this type shows that these figures do not indicate the end of the composition by one writer and the beginning of that by another. Dr. Pyar Singh's conjecture about this arrangement is that "These figures are investigative marks or figures to compare this inscription with loose sheets or collections of the bani⁷⁷. With this opinion of his, as he himself stated in a meeting, he wanted to contradict the opinion of Baba Prem Singh Ji according to which the figures below the horizontal lines indicated the conclusion of the bani by one Guru and the beginning of that by another. In this meeting, stating the sum and substance of his conversation with the American Researcher Dr. Gurinder Singh Maan, he said that Mr. Maan took these figures to be indicative of the work done per day by the writer.

If this view of Mr. Maan is accepted, we come to know that the writer did the maximum work during the 7th sitting. On that day he wrote 16 sheets and 11 lines or 32 pages and 11 lines. He wrote the minimum number of pages during the last or 27th sitting, which comes to four and half sheets (9 pages) and 9 lines. If we calculate the total work done during the period it comes to almost 9 sheets (18 pages) per sitting. The blank pages have not been accounted for in this calculation. Excluding the blank pages, the written sheets of the *Pothee* are about 267 and a half. To copy these sheets in 27 days is not an extraordinary job for a trained writer but before finally accepting this view we must make

a comprehensive study of these figures. This study is expected to settle Dr. Pyar Singh's opinion given in his Gatha about this attribute of 3 lines. Dr. Pyar Singh has also drawn attention towards one or two other aspects of figure under the 3 lines :

"In the *Pothee* of Ahiyapur the figures under these marks go on increasing continuously (1, 2, 3, 4, ...) and the figure at the end of raag Soohi is 11. The figures with this mark in raag Parbhaatee first move with 1, 2, 3, 4; but later on a necessary figure has been added to these and they have been made 12, 13, 14 i.e. they have been given a continuity" (Gatha pages 99-100).

If we compare Doctor Pyar Singh's statement with the *Pothee* we come to know that the last figure of raag Soohi is 6 and not 11. Similarly in raag Parbhaatee the first difficulty in the way of accepting the concept of changing 1, 2, 3 into 11, 12, 13 is in respect of the entry on page 70a. In the second line of this page a hymn of raag Parbhaatee which had been started earlier concludes. In the 3rd line before commencement of the next hymn the same 3 horizontal lines are there, as are being discussed here. The person who drew these lines has not put any figure under them. Later, some other person had to put "1 dakhani" against Parbhaatee, the information about the raag, but vacant space has been occupied by these lines. So, he has written "1 daakhani" under them: so that we read the title as Parbhaatee 1 dakhani". Some other hand has put 7 parallel to the line lower than the words Parbhaatee dakhani' and above the margin. If we see the original Pothee, only then we can tell whether the bihari (h) of 'dakhani', and the figure 7 have been put above the margin or below it. But in the photograph they seem to have been put above the margin. Same is the position on page 79a, where these 3 lines seem to be crossing the margin.

On page 173b and 188b it is evident that these lines have been put later, though at many other places it seems that the lines existed earlier and the margins have been demarcated later. Whether the lines were drawn before the demarcation of the margin or after that – I am obliged to hesitate to reach any conclusion in respect of this question without seeing the original *Pothee*. But the fact which cannot be escaped is that on page 79a the figure 2 is written under the 3 horizontal lines and some boy has tried to delete it and put the figure 8 almost outside the margin. Why did the writer first write figure 2 here? This cannot be clarified unless we know the secret of the misleading entry ‘1 dakhani’ under the lines on page on 70a. The person who drew lines on page 79a saw the lines drawn prior to himself on page 70a and noticed figure 1 under the lines. After observing this, he at once wrote the figure 2 under the lines on page 79a. He failed to understand that the meaning of figure 1 on page 70a was that it was a composition of the first Guru. On page 92a again these horizontal lines are there. Some body has written figure 3 under them but the person who deleted the figure 2 and replaced it with the figure 8, here i.e. on page 92a, deleted the figure 3 and replaced it with 9. Next on page 98b the figure 4 has been deleted and replaced by the figure 10. Next on page 109b, figure 11 has been put without deleting any figure and the page 124a bears the figure 12. The space of the last portion of the second line on page 132b has been occupied by the horizontal lines where no figure has been put under them but some body has written some thing in the middle of the vacant space on their left side. These lines are again drawn in the last portion of the last line where a hymn concludes on page 144b and some body has written figure 14 under them. This figure 14 does not seem to have been written

by the same hand as had written 13 because the form of the figure 1 in these two figures largely varies. On page 156a, figure 15 has been put under the horizontal lines but nothing can be said about it for want of the photo-copy of this page. The next figure occurs on page 173b where the 3 horizontal lines have been defaced with a thick daub of ink and have been replaced by one long and other small vertical lines. Somebody has tried to delete them but the figure 16 below them is still visible. At the end of page 176b these lines exist but there is no figure below them. It shows that the person who had deleted the lines on page 173b may have wanted to put these lines here. He should have written figure 16 below the lines on page 176b instead of the lines on page 173b. As a title of the new hymn starting on page 188b "Basantu mahalu 3" has been written in the middle of the line and the mark of the 3 lines has been put on the right side at some distance. The tail of the lower figure 3 of mahalu 3 has been dragged much to the right side. The person who had to write the figure 17 under the 3 line mark may have felt the shortage of space; therefore, he thought it proper to move below the tail of 3. So, here the figure 17 has been put at some distance from under the 3 lines. It is obvious that the 3 line mark would have been put later. The figure has been put later, for certain. This statement fully applies to the figure 18 and the 3-line mark above it at the end of 1st line on page 191b; rather it also applies to the 3-line mark and the figure 19 below it on page 200b. At the end of page 205b, 3 lines have been casually drawn and figure 21 is written under them with equal casualness. On page 229a the previous hymn concludes in the 4th line and it has been tried to put the 3-line mark parallel to it. Figure 22 has been put below the lines but the 2nd figure 2 has been re-written either on some other figure

or to bring into relief the dim figure. This figure 22, has been written in some other ink and by some other hand. On page 235b, figure 23 has been written below the lines and similarly figure 24 has been written under the 3-line mark at the end of page 245a but its lower portion has been deleted by the demarcation of margin. These 3 lines have been put on page 253b also and 24 has been written under them, which has been made 25. On page 259a these lines seem to be criss-crossing the marginal demarcation; the marginal demarcation has moved on them and the figure 2 of 26 is inside and outside the margin and the figure 6 is completely outside the margin. The page 264b carries the lines as well as figure 27 below them. This is the last page indicating the serial enumeration. The mark next to it is visible on page 277b. What is strange about it is that instead of continuing the last enumeration, figure 1 has been put below it. In the same way at the end of page 283b (the photo of which is not available with us) bears the mark of three lines as well as figure 2 under them. Next to it, page 296a has this mark of three horizontal lines but some body has tempered with the figure below them. Perhaps initially figure 3 had been written and afterwards it has been tried to change it into 2. From page 283b to page 296a there are 12 pages but six and half pages out of them are blank. The mark on page 296b is the last sample of uncomprehended figures. Next to it the inscription of the Pothee continues up to page 300b in an interrupted way but we do not come across any uncomprehended figures.

This way there are a total of 30 figures (27+3) for which I have no satisfactory explanation. If there had been no deletion of figures, the number had increased continuously without any foul play and the entries had not been made by some other hand than

the original writer in some different ink and at a different time which also includes the different style of writing, the whole matter would have been free from misinterpretation. But after the above investigation, I cannot help mistrusting the conjectures of Dr. Pyar Singh or Dr. Gurinder Singh Maan.

For the convenience of the scholarly readers we give here under the complete list of unexplained figures. For ready reference the page number as well as the figures below the 3 lines have been given.

The detail of uncomprehended figures:-

S.No.	Page.	Figures under the horizontal lines.
1	9a	1
2	17b	2
3	27a	3
4	37b	4
5	45a	5
6	53b	6
7	70a	7
8	79a	8
9	92a	9
10	98b	10
11	109b	11
12	124a	12
13	132b	13
14	144b	14
15	156a	15
16	173b	16
17	188b	17
18	191b	18
19	200b	19

20	205b	20
21	222a	21
22	229a	22
23	235b	23
24	245a	24
25	253b	25
26	259a	26
27	264b	27
28	277b	1
29	283b	2
30	296a	2(?)

2. Figures outside the margin.

The figures outside the margin in the *Pothée* indicate the number of its pages. This calculation has been done twice and the calculation each time is mutually different. The figures in the middle of the pages on the top had been written earlier. Therefore we consider them first. Later on, we will consider the figures written in the upper corner on the right side of the page. 'Written earlier' does not mean that these were written by the first writer of the *Pothée*, because the figures which the writers of the text inside have given at the end of the lines do not resemble in form and size the figures given at the top of the pages. This leads to the conclusion that the writer of the *Pothée* had not himself put these figures on the pages after or before writing the text. The job of putting the figures on loose sheets had been done by somebody else.

The top figures of the *Pothée* have been written on the 'a' side of the sheets; only one figure has been written at a place on the 'b' side of the sheet and it is below the decorative flower on

the left top corner of the page on which the text commences. Before the figure 1 some thing like a zero vacant from inside has also been put. This figure is like an exception firstly because it is put on the 'b' side of the sheet and secondly it is put in the top left corner of the margin of the page. Thereafter, all the figures that follow have been written on the 'a' side of the sheets. Besides, this figure 1 has no similarity whatsoever with the figures 1's atop the sheets of the *Pothae*. Therefore, it seems that this figure 1 must be a cue for the painter who decorated the sheets or it may be the abridged form of 'Ek Onkar' or it may be a symbol for some unknown good omen.

In the top figure series one figure goes on to be added serially. These figures have been written outside the upper margin or some times below the margin. Usually, these figures are written in the middle of the page. The detail of these figures is being given later.

a) Figures at the top.

An interesting self-contradiction of the type of figures under consideration is that the figures which have been given to maintain the sequence and correct number of pages are themselves creating a problem by their sequence and number.

At present, the first top figure of the *Pothae* is on page 5a and this figure is 12. We do not have the photocopies of the pages 3a and 4a of the *Pothae*. Therefore, without seeing the original *Pothae* it is not possible to say whether or not a figure had been put on these pages. The guess is that these figures must have been put. The figure 12 has been put on the 'a' side of the sheet and this is also indicative of its back side or 'b' side. This device of putting figures continues through the entire *Pothae*. The figure 12 shows that there were 11 other sheets (or

22 pages) more before it. Just because the figures had been put before the demarcation of the margin, figures on some pages have been suppressed by the line of the margin. For example, on page 6a the figure 13 does not exist but the page 7a bears the figure 14a. Next forward, on page 17a, the top figure should have been 24 but there it is 25. According to this calculation the figure 24 does not exist in the *Pothee*; but there is no interruption in the continuity of the bani. The *Pothee* contains not only errors of such leaps but also those of repetition. For instance, on page 82a of the *Pothee* (which is blank) the top figure should have been 90 (It may have been there), but this figure (90) has been put on page 83a also. The figure 92 is visible and legible on page 86a. As such, the page 87a should have the figure 93 but this figure is not visible anywhere. The next page 88a bears the figure 94. In the same way figure 112 has been written twice on pages 106a and 107a. Next, from 113 onwards the enumeration goes on uninterrupted. 162nd figure is missing and the figures 167, 173 and 184 have been written twice. Thereafter, the state of an insane cards-player starts card with two in place of an ace and a joker instead of a card with 4. Firstly, the margins are playing a havoc with the figures; they have eliminated many figures; then the blank pages are interspersed, the photocopy of the figures of which is not available with us. As such, some thing can be said on the basis of only those pages alone, the figures of which are legible. On pages 184a and 185a the figures 166 and 167 occur for the second time. The bani continues uninterrupted from page 192 to 206. It has already been stated that the figures of the *Pothee* are always written on the 'a' side of the sheet; but in order to maintain the continuity of versification we have displaced certain pages due to which the figures 279 and 280 have come

on pages 278b and 279b respectively instead of 278a and 279a. The detail of the pages displaced by us has been given in the part titled "Changes by the editor". The figure 206 has been put twice and thereafter the enumeration goes correctly from page 207 to 283. The figure on page 283a should have been 284 and on page 284a it should have been 285 but it has not been written. On the next page i.e. 285a the figure 285 has been written. This way the top figure 285 has occurred, in a way, twice, though it has been written only once. The page 286a should have borne the figure 286 but no figure has been put there. The figure on the next page is 286 instead of 287. This way the figure 286 also comes twice. On page 288a, the figure 287 is legible. Next to it, 5 pages and a half are lying blank. The page 298a bears the figure 301 and the pages next to it do not have any figures.

b) The figures in the right upper corner.

(Note : The detail of the figures in the original *Pothée* has been given in this part to acquaint the readers correctly with the places of the pages; the detail does not pertain to the new figures put by us below the lower margin).

After the top figures now we discuss the figures written outside the right top corner on the 'a' side of the sheets. We shall call them 'new figures' in order to distinguish them from the old top figures given in this portion. Like the top figures these also are indicative of the serial numbers of the pages. When these new figures were put, the *Pothée* already had the top figures. Not only this; the person who did the paging was conscious that as a result of the displacement of the pages, the top figures were not

able to give the correct sequence of the pages and needed new paging. These figures must have been put after the demarcation of the margin on the pages of the *Pothee* because some of the top figures had been suppressed by the line of the margin; but these new figures were safe from the line of margin in the right hand corner. If we compare the new figures with the old figures we come to know that at the time of new binding or at the time of infirm binding earlier, some sheets were extracted from the *Pothee* and the place of some others was changed at the time of new binding. The person who put the new figures did not include the page with Sammat, in this series. The 'a' side of the page with Sammat, or the page next to it are lying blank. The writing of bani commences on the back-side or 'b' side of this sheet. We have given the page number 1a to the blank side and given 1b to the side on which the bani of raag soohi starts. The person who put the figures also started with this assumption. The new figure 2 has been put on the right hand corner of the next page. In our paging system we have made it 2a. We do not have the photo copies of the 3rd and the 4th pages but the old top figure of 12 is clearly visible on the page bearing the new figure 5. This way the writer of the new figures starts his series neglecting the 7 pages of the original *Pothee* right from the beginning. But the strange thing is that this difference of 7 does not continue uniformly up to the end. For instance, by the time we reach the new figure 17, this difference of 7 between the new and the old figures of the *Pothee* increases to 8. The old figures are larger in number than the new figures and the bani moves continuously. This difference of 8 continues up to the page 82 and from page 83 onwards the difference of 7 is restored. The new figure there, is 83 against the old top figure of 90. The bani moves continuously. From page 86

onwards this difference is reduced to 6 but from page 105 onwards the enumeration begins to stagger. The top figures which were ahead of the new figures with the difference of 6 now lag behind with a difference of 1. The reason is that the new figure after 103 is not 104 because the side of the sheet bearing the figure is lying blank and is immediately followed by the figure 112. The bani moves uninterrupted and the next figure is 106. This enumeration runs smoothly up to the figure 110. But next it is followed by a page bearing the figure 105. The page next to it bears the new figure 111 and the page still next to it has 113 as its serial number. The figure 112 is missing from here. But it has been written twice first it is written on the page bearing the new figure 106 and for the second time it is given on the page bearing figure 107. Next to it the new series of top figures with 113, 114 etc. starts. Five and half pages after the new figure 113 are lying blank but their number for the ensuing figures is correctly reflected in both the series. When after the top figure 118 we reach 125 the new figure 113 should be followed by 120 but this figure 120 has been interpolated now by somebody. This could not have been there in the original *Pothee*. The next figure 121 is available and the enumeration continues smoothly up to 142. The difference of 5 between the old and new figures persists up to the page 142. We do not have the photo copies of 'a' side of page 143 to page 156 but just because the figures are always put on the 'a' side of the leaf, therefore it is difficult to say anything about them without seeing the *Pothee*. The bani here onwards also moves continuously. The leaves, the 'a' side of which should have borne figures 145 to 151 are lying blank. The bani is available on their 'b' side. By the time we reach the leaf No. 157, the difference between the top figures and new figures grows to

6 instead of 5. This difference of 6 continues upto the figure 161. But the top figure on the next page i.e. 167 has been erroneously put twice and the difference between the new and the old figures is once more reduced to 5- here the old figure is 167 and the new figure is 162. This difference of 5 continues upto 165. The 3 ensuing pages are lying blank and when we reach 169 the difference is reduced to 4 only which persists up to page 178. The next one page is blank and thereafter there is some confusion because the figure put is 300 instead of 180 and the figure at the top does not exist. On the next page the figure in the right hand corner is 187. The top figure above is 184. This is followed by one and a half blank pages and the next page bears the figure 182 which moves continuously upto 185, In contrast to the figure 185 the top figure is 301. The top figure on the next page is illegible. But the new figure is not there at all. The page next to it bears the figure 188 whereas it should have been 187. But because this figure has already occurred, it has not been repeated here. The figures from 188 to 235 are written on both the sides without any interruption. The top figure in contrast to 188 has been suppressed by the line of the margin and is not legible. But in contrast to 189 figure 166 has been given and in contrast to 190 there is 167, though these top figures have already occurred. Among the figures at the top, those on the next 4 pages also are not legible and the next page on which the new figure 195 has been given bears the top figure 192. These figures with a difference of 3 move up to the figure 204. On the next two pages the top figures have been covered by the margin or have not been put, and are not visible. Next to them the figure should have been 207 but the actual figure put there is 206. Here onwards the difference between the old figures and the new

figures is 4 and the enumeration onwards with a difference of 4 moves smoothly-up to the new figure 235 in contrast with which the figure written at the top is 231. Next to it a figure has intervened and appeared after violating the line. This figure is 241 and at the top of the page, figure 232 has been given. After this intervening page the enumeration from 236 to 299 goes on smoothly with the exception of a few stray pages. The detail of differences is as under :

- The figure 240 is followed by the figure 242 because 241 has already occurred.
- The pages bearing the figures 246 and 247 are lying blank and next to them the figure 249 has been erroneously put instead of 248. I call it an error because the page bearing 249 is available at its proper place.
- The pages bearing figures 274, 275 and 276 are blank and they are correctly followed by the page bearing the figure 277.
- The page with the figure 291 is again blank.

Now we can see the movement of the figure at the top in contrast with the above ones. It has already been stated that in contrast with the new figure 235 the old figure written is 231. This is the very page bearing the figure 241 which has been brought here out of turn. Next to it from page 232 to 236 the figures move smoothly. The figure 237 is missing but the new figure 240 is available. After this, accounting for the blank pages also, we can see the figures moving up to 265 without any interruption. Next to them the figures 266, 269 and 274 are illegible, having been suppressed by the line of margin. With the exception of these three, the series runs up to 283 without any discontinuity. It includes blank pages also. The figure 284 (new figure 288) has

been covered by the margin and therefore, can not be read. The figure on the next page also has been covered with the line of the margin and is illegible. The new figure here is 289 but the page next to it bears 285 instead of 286 (in contrast with the new figure 290). Next it is followed by a blank page which is next followed by 2 pages with figures 286 and 287 (respectively the new figures are 292 and 293. After the figure 287 no page up to the end bears any figure at the top.

c) Figures of the parts.

The back side or the side marked 'b' of the sheets of the *Pothée* bears only one type of figures and that too after a gap of 8 pages. These figures relate to the 'juzes' of the *Pothée*. Juz is a Persian word which is a deformation of the Arabic root-word juzv. It means a part or a portion. In the language of the Book-sellers, the binders and the professional writers the word juz is used for a bundle of 8 sheets or 16 pages. In a big heap of papers, bundles of 8 sheets are made after giving 3 folds. The binders go on stitching these 8 sheet bundles by drawing a strong thread between them and from the lower side pieces of cloth are passed through these parts, and then all these parts or bundles are stitched together. At the time of the preparation of the *Pothée* this system of binding was in vogue. Some times the writers, and mostly the binders, to save the sequence of these juzes from disorder, would write the serial number of juz at the lower right hand corner of the last page and this is what the writer or binder of this *Pothée* has done. All the juzes with the exception of one, the 18th, consist of 8 sheets each. The serial number of the 18th juz should have been written on page 144b but it is written on page 146b. As a result this juz consists of 10 sheets

instead of 8 but after this unusual juz every juz up to the end consists of 8 sheets.

Why has the person making juzes treated this juz differently? The *Pothee* does not provide any explanation because the bani starting at the beginning of the 18th juz moves continuously and finishes on page 114b. The information about the 18th juz could be conveniently given here. The page 145a is lying blank and the page 145 b shows the beginning of the Astpadis of the first Guru Sahib under raag Dhanaasree. No bani concludes on page 146b where indication about the end of the 18th juz has been given. The bani which had started earlier moves ahead. It seems that it is an instance of omission only. No desire of interpolation was working behind it.

It is certain that the figures indicating the juzes are not in the hand of the original writer of the *Pothee* because the writer has started the enumeration of the juzes from his figure 1a indicating the serial number of the page and not according to the calculation of sheets in the original *Pothee*. Otherwise also the form of the figures of the juzes does not coincide with that of the figures in the original *Pothee*. Another fact is that not a single figure of the juz has been suppressed by the line of the margin; all the figures have been written in a perfect manner outside the lower right hand corner of the pages near the margin. They are written in the same hand and from the viewpoint of form they are very near the modern figures of Gurmukhi and not the inner figures of the *Pothee*. Rather, they are similar to the modern figures of Gurmukhi. They should be compared with the new figures given on the 'a' side of the sheets outside the margin and in the upper right-hand corner of the pages. So, it can be said with certainty that the figures of juzes were put at the time of the

new binding. Earlier, the *Pothée* did not carry these figures which can lead also to the view that the sheets of the *Pothée* were loose earlier and if later on they had been preserved in a binding to save them from being scattered, the binding was infirm and not a hard one by some professional binder. Otherwise some of the figures of the juzes would have been available in a bedimmed form.

d) Essence.

Many types of figures have been used in the *Pothée*. Out of these most orderly are those which indicate the serial order of every stanza of every hymn, those indicating the serial order of the hymns in the series of every raag and those indicating the serial number of the juz which must have been put before binding. The greatest damage has been done by the double figures indicating the serial number of the pages. At the time of binding some old rotten sheets were removed, some new sheets were added and some others were put out of place. In the extant *Pothée* many a sheet has been put out of place. There is also the distant possibility that the figures were not there on the sheets at the time of writing the original *Pothée*.

About series of figures of different types which include the 3 horizontal lines and the figures written under them, it has been estimated that they indicate the total of sheets written by the writer every day, but so far I have not been able to come to believe this conjecture.

Below the lower margin of every page of the *Pothée* I have put international figures running continuously; they are not available in the original *Pothée*.

XII

The deletions and amendments in the *Pothée*

There are deletions of many types and amendments in the *Pothee*. In the available photographs their total number is about 737 according to my Steno S. Satpal Singh. In this calculation a hymn fully crossed has been taken as one deletion. In the same way if a full line or a group of lines has been crossed, it has been counted for one deletion. One should not be surprised if due to the increased number of pages in the *Pothee*, the total number of deletions reaches about 900. These deletions are of many types and can be distributed into clear categories. They also include those which lead to some significant conclusions.

1) Rejection of Gulaam and Sada Sewak.

The most noticeable deletions relate to those compositions which have been written under various raags after the conclusion of the bani by the Gurus and before the commencement of the bani by the Bhagats. The number of these fully deleted compositions is 13. In this type of deletions only those compositions have been included which have been crossed due to some religious or communal difference or under some negatives sentiment of belief and not because they have been written erroneously and deleted by the writer. The specimens of these fully deleted compositions can be seen on the following pages: 53 b, 54 a, 54 b, 55 a, 102a, 102b, 149 b, 206 a, 206b, 250a, 250b and 278 a Total No. = 13.

A Special trait of these compositions, towards which attention has already been drawn in that the title contains the name of the writer as Gulaam or Sada Sewak but in the last line where the poets use their 'noms-des-plumes' the word Naanik has been used instead of Gulaam or Sada Sewak⁷⁸.

This is evident that these deletions have not been made by the compiler ; they have been made by some other person, later.

2] Rejection of repetition.

In addition to the type of deleted hymns by Gulaam and Sada Sewak, there is another category of text which after being written fully or partially has been deleted and has been re-written in a more correct form ; or as a result of an erroneous repetition a text has been deleted. Two instances of this type can be seen in the *Pothae* on pages 58b and 222a. The page 58b carries a hymn by Baba Farid Ji in raag Soohi “tapi tapi loohi hath marodae..... Panth samaali savera ||3|| 5||”. This hymn has been repeated with slight difference on pages 60a and 60b. Noticing the repetition some body has deleted the hymn on page 58b, and though the original person who counted the 12 hymn of raag soohi has treated both the hymns the (now) deleted hymn (|| 3 || 5 ||) and its undeleted form (|| 4 || 9 ||) as separate hymns.

An other instance of this type of repetition occurs on page 222a in connection with a hymn by Bhagat Kabir Ji “Issu tan man mehi madanIss chapal budhi seo kichh na wasaayee”. This hymn had already occurred on page 215b, therefore, treating the second amended form as extra, somebody has deleted it.

On page 163a under raaga Dhanaasree the 6th line, (which was also the last line of the page) of Bhagat Namdev Ji’s hymn “Pehal puriye pandrak vana” has been deleted. Next, on

page 163b also the 8 lines written there have been deleted. In the ensuing lines some amended form of the deleted text has again been given. The writer has noticed this error in time and has therefore, rectified it immediately.

One reason of the occurrence of such errors seems to be that the text was being copied from the loose sheets. In some cases different form of the same hymn had been lying in a file and they could not be sorted out before being copied in the *Pothee*. As a result both the forms were written at the time of copying. If the hymns in the file had been sorted out before being preserved in the file, this repetition would not have occurred.

3) Jaavae has been rejectd and Jaaveh has been accepted

Another type of deletions in the *Pothee* demands our special attention. This relates to the mutual difference between the usual written form of the pronunciation of a hymn and its form according to the tradition of the writing of Gurbani. As, a new writer, not trained in the traditional style of spellings, has to make some corrections again and again, in the same way we find some types of this sort of correction interspersed in the *Pothee* here and there; but we treat one type which has been repeated many times, as the representative of all other types and give some detail of that alone.

This type relates to the form of the verb at the end of which the sound of dullaiyan (ae) is produced; as, for example, aavae, jaavae. According to the accepted writing style of Gurbani, this sound in plural form had accepted the spellings aaveh and jaaveh respectively. In the *Pothee* there are many examples in

which a professional writer has, by the force of habit written the form of the word with dullaiyan but then, immediately becoming conscious, deleted the dullaiyan put by himself and added eh at the end of the word⁷⁹. It is evident that the sheets which he had been copying contained the forms of spellings like aaveh and jaaveh.

The number of samples in which dullaiyan has been deleted and 'eh' has been added at the end of the word is large in the *Pothee* which shows that the writer has consciously tried to live up to his original written source while copying it. For any writer this is, no doubt, a difficult task, but because it had resulted from his own mistakes he has gladly accepted this unpaid job of corrections. This is evident from the examples given below :-

S.No.	Page of the <i>Pothee</i> and the Line	Before the correction	After the correction
1.	2a/9	Jaavae	Jaaveh
2.	19a/9	Karae	Kareh
3.	19b/6	Gavavae	Gavaveh
4.	19b/12	Vekhae	Vekheh
5.	20a/5-6	Janamae	Janameh
6.	22b/1	Gavae	Gaveh
7.	22b/1	Vakhanae	Vakhaneh
8.	22b/2	Pachhanae	Pachhaneh
9.	23b/5	Paavae	Paaveh
10.	31a/8-9	Chhutae	Chhuteh
11.	31a/10	Dhiavae	Dhiaveh
12.	31a/11	Paavae	Paaveh
13.	42b/9	Vanajae	Vanajeh

14	43b/10	Vichhadae	Vichhadeh
15.	63a/8	Vasae	Vaseh
16	63a/12	keejae	Keejeh
17.	63b/6	Leechae	Leecheh
18.	71a/4	Nindae	Nindeh
19.	113a/7	Maapae	Maapeh

This type of deletions and some other examples show that the writer made every effort to write the Gurbani in its pure form⁸⁰ though he might have to make a number of deletions. Certainly he was a professional writer endowed with perseverance and faith but he did not know that his unwanted deletions would lead some people to draw some conclusions.

4) Some conclusions

* On the page with Sammat in the beginning of the *Pothae* it has been claimed that this *Pothae* was written by Guru Amar Daas Ji : “Pothae likhee guru abir babbe”. This assertion is completely unfounded because in the *Pothae* in the 3rd Guru’s own bani, the corrections of dullaiyan by replacing them with ‘eh’ exist⁸¹. We do not need an astrologer to tell that his repeated involuntary error of this special type could in no case have been committed by the Guru himself because he was himself the composer of the bani as well as a mature writer. Baba Mohan Ji who was dreaming of succeeding to the seat of Guruship before Bhai Jetha Ji was nominated for it knew Gurbani very well and considering the atmosphere in which he and his son Sahansar Ram had grown and been brought up they could not be expected by common sense to commit repeatedly the mistake of preferring the form with dullaiyan in the writing of Gurbani whereas the form of aaveh or jaaveh had been accepted as the standard form.

* Considering the firm habit of putting dulaaiyan by the first writer and on the other hand the uniform writing of his clean and trained hand in the *Pothee* it can be gauged that before being appointed to write the *Pothee* at the Goindwal center he must have been working to prepare other books of Gurmukhi except Gurbani at some other literary center. Guru Nanak Dev Ji's arrival on the scene of Punjab had given birth to many religious-literary-cultural centres out of which Kartarpur (Ravi) during his own time, Khadoor during the time of Guru Angad Dev Ji, Goindwal during the time of Guru Amar Daas Ji and Amritsar at the time of Guru Ram Daas Ji and Guru Arjan Dev Ji were the main centres. These centres must have caused a substantial increase in the demand for the writers. Going of a couple of professional writers from one center to the other must have been common. In any case it is certain that the first writer of the *Pothee* was a mature and trained writer who wrote clean and clear letters.

* This conclusion has already been hinted at that the writer was copying from the previously written Gurmukhi sheets lying before him : but if anybody doubts this fact he can satisfy himself by carefully studying the nature of numberless corrections made by the writer.

* This also can be guessed from the corrections made by the writer in the *Pothee* at the time of copying it from the source-sheets, in Gurmukhi that in the manuscript of the bani which Guru Amar Daas Ji had inherited, the work of determining the spellings of the words had already been done. This statement need not be stressed that the first writer of the *Pothee* was not rectifying his own mistakes by comparing his writing with that of the Aad Beed prepared by Guru Arjan Dev Ji. Rather he was doing it by

observing the written sheets given to him for copying. Such pages would have been reaching Goindwal from other old centers, may be indirectly. The writer of these lines, while studying the various aspects of the *Pothee* has been acutely feeling that the work of copying the Gurbani had started from the time of Guru Nanak Dev Ji. Some such copies must have been preserved in form of loose sheets, booklets or Pothees at the workshop of Kartarpur (Sialkot) itself or with some devoted Sikhs. The Sikh literature as well as the Sikh minds talks of an established tradition of giving an updated copy of the bani to the new occupant of the seat of Guruship as a certificate of the seat of Guruship at the time of ascendancy. But in addition to this certified collection of bani remaining or extra sheets of bani, complete or incomplete copies of Gurbani and Bhagat bani bound or unbound, must have survived at the centres of the Gurus' establishment. By the time of Guru Amar Daas Ji the work of preparing the collections of Gurbani seems to have become institutional. The omissions and corrections made in the sequence and copying of the Pothee of Goindwal indicate that in the samples that were before the person who copied, some important steps had been taken towards editing of the bani in addition to its compilation. One conclusion, however is uncontradictable that the Pothee is not the first direct manuscript : it is a copy of the previously written loose sheets.

Because the writer is not in the habit of completely effacing the incorrect text, therefore, usually his mistakes as well as his correction can be read. That is why it does not take long to classify his deletions. The important conclusions which can be derived from the deletions in the *Pothee* have already been shared with the scholarly readers. In addition to the deletions by

the writers, already mentioned under various categories, their other blunders include a large number of such errors as are casually committed by the most efficient writer while copying from the pages lying before him. Other new conclusions are not expected to be derived from these types. Therefore, even though there are many more deletions of numerous types, there is no need of discussion on them any more here.

XIII

An entreaty in the *Pothee*

A letter of entreaty of 6 or 7 lines is available on page 8b of the *Pothee*. On the previous sheet i.e. 7a, the 8th and the last hymn of Guru Nanak Dev Ji under raag Soohi commences, the first line of which is : 'Kacha rangu kasubha ka thordiyān din chaar'. The first half of the second line of the 8th stanza of this hymn : 'So ki manaho visaariyae' is written at the end of the last line of page 8a but its next half 'Sada sada daataaru' instead of continuing on page 8b is available at the end of page 9a. This way page 8a was initially lying blank for some reason and later on some body taking advantage of the blank space has written this entreaty thereon.

O Almighty God, O, immortal one!

O The great personalities Baba Naaniku, Angadu, Amar.

Daas : O The true ruler! Divert my mind to the bani of Baba. There can't be greater charity. Whomsoever you give.

Can get it O Baba Patisaah

Sree K.S. Puri, a specialist of manuscripts is of the view that this entreaty has been written in the hand of the original writer of the *Pothee*, who had written the page with blessing and curse⁸². There is need of being clear about its word-meanings before entering into any discussion about it. To whom has the writer

addressed this entreaty? Is it for Almighty God and the trinity of the first three Guru's ? The address used for all these four, 'Sache patisaha' is in singular number. Here has this singular address Sache Patisaaha been used considering God Almighty Baba Nanaik, Angadu, Amar Daas, a group of 4, to be one unit ? Or is it related to Guru Amar Daas alone? It has been particularly clarified in the inscription that the demand of the beseecher is not for bani alone; he begs for the bani of Baba. The word Baba is again singular in number and in the second line it has been used before the name of Guru Nanak Dev Ji. By using this epithet 'Baba, Guru Angad or Guru Amar Daas have not been particularized. But it is not convincing that the petitioner would have demanded the diversion of his mind to the bani of Guru Nanak Dev Ji alone, even though the words may communicate the trinity of Gurus. So, here, the singular number 'Baba' should be taken to mean the trinity of Gurus. The meaning will be : 'O, all the 4 deities! Be kind enough to divert my mind towards your bani'. When the entreaty maintains its tone of singular number up to its last sentence, it creates a new problem in the sphere of meanings; The singular number of 'too' 'Jis non too dehi tis non milae baba patishaah', is confirmed by Baba patisaah. Who is this 'too' who has been called Baba patisaah or sache patisaah in the 3rd line? This address cannot be for God Almighty and the group of first 3 Gurus. If at the end the words Baba patisaah had not been used, it could have been interpreted that the word 'too' has been used for God Almighty or unit of 4 consisting of God Almighty and the 3 Gurus ; but the word Baba is blocking the way of these meanings because its usage in the *Pothee* has endowed it with the special meanings. In this connection, the 16 titles of the *Pothee* in which this word has

been⁸³ used, are worthy of notice. In 14 of them the word Baba stands for Guru Nanak Dev Ji though its form and spelling may be Bebe, Baabe, Babe or Babe patisaah. If essential, the word Babe on page 275b alone can be related to Guru Amar Daas. The 16th example is available in the title on page 288b but no bani has been entered under it. Therefore, it becomes an article out of context.

The above usage of the word Baabe proves that usually the writer has used the word Baabe for Guru Nanak Dev. In the document of entreaty also the word Baabe seems to have been used for Guru Nanak Dev. In the first and 2nd lines the word 'Abinaasi purkh (immortal personage) also has been used for Guru Nanak Dev. Therefore, the greater possibility is that the words 'too' and Baba patisaah have also been used for the founder Guru i.e. Sree Guru Nanak Dev. The writer, forgetting his initial address to the 4 persons, seems at the end to make his entreaty to Guru Nanak Dev.

Can the remembering of the 3 Gurus by name imply that Guru Amar Daas was living at the time of the petitioner? His including the 3rd Guru in the list of the expired Gurus and joining him with the first two, shows that he had expired at the time of the writing of the entreaty and not including the name of the 4th Guru in this list may, have been prompted by their negative sentiment against him. The existence of the trinity of the first 3 Gurus and the God Almighty on the page with Sammat in the Pothee shows that there is a common factor in the two writings. After all the writer was only one and the same person. If the two writings are perused side by side, the following facts do not remain concealed.

- Guru Amar Daas had already expired because the death of 3rd Guru had taken place in 1574 A.D. As such the *Pothee* had not come into existence till then.
 - The ascension of Guru Ram Daas to the seat of Guruship could not have been liked by the party owing allegiance to *Pothee* and therefore.
 - The anger at being deprived of the seat of Guruship by Amar Daas has been expressed by ignoring Guru Ram Daas.
- This document of entreaty can also be looked at from another angle. From that point of view this brief request had been made for the fulfilment of non-material, dedicated demand. Therefore, there is little probability of getting any information, individual or collective, in respect of the compiler, the editor or the writer directly. Still this much is evident that the petitioner worships the first 3 Gurus and is not addressing his request to the 4th. One reason for this can be that the 4th Guru had not uptill that time succeeded to the seat of Guruship. In that case it will have to be accepted that Guru Amar Daas Ji was yet alive. If that had been the case, in 'Sache patisaaha mere chitu bani babe di naali laaye' the word *Sache patisaha* would have implied 'O Guru Amar Daas ! Could the writer request Guru Amar Daas to divert his mind to the bani of some other Guru though it may have been the bani of Guru Nanak Dev Ji himself? Then the bani of which Baba is being mentioned in the document of petition? If this hinted at the bani of Guru Amar Daas , instead of 'Bani Babe di' 'Apni bani naali' would have been written. As such the correct guess is that Guru Amar Daas Ji had by then expired. The writing of this petition at a place where the bani of Guru Amar Daas Ji under raag Soohi commences hints at least that the writer is addressing

specially Guru amar Daas Ji, perhaps due to his blood relationship.

This also is possible that this letter of entreaty may have been written after the preparation of the *Pothee* and the meaning of the bani here may be the *Pothee* from Goindwal. Bani in 'mer chitu bani Baabe di naali laaye' can also mean the *Pothee* or the bani preserved in it.

This letter of entreaty is just an out-burst of the mind of the writer engaged in writing the bani—it is an independent expression of the sentiment of gratitude which is completely free from the temptation of the boon or the fear of the curse given on the page with Sammat.

XIV

Blank pages of the *Pothee*.

At present there are 86 blank pages which break the continuity of the flow of the *Pothee* between its 1st page and the last page i.e. 300th page. The person who put the serial number on the pages of *Pothee* has also written figures on these blank pages. Therefore, it is not difficult to count them. The list of the blank pages in the extant *Pothee* is being given below. This is certain that when this compilation was prepared the number of the unwritten pages at that time was larger than at present because non-original writers have written on those page,s reducing their number. These later interpolations have been pointed out at various places as far as possible. That also shows that when these inscriptions were interpolated these pages of the *Pothee* must have been blank. Because these pages are not blank now they have not been accounted for in the ensuing list,

though at the time of the classification of these blank pages some of them also have been taken into consideration.

The Blank pages of the *Pothee*.

9b, 11b, 12a, 38b, 46b, 80b, 81b, 82a, 84b, 85a, 86b, 88b, 89b, 103b, 104a, 114a, to 119a, 145a, 147b, 150b, 151a, 161b, 162b, 164b, 165b to 168a, 179a, to 179b, 182a to 182b, 195b, 196a, 207b, 208a, 209b to 215a, 216a, 241a to 242a, 251b, 268b to 271a, 286a to 286b, 289a to 293b, 294a, 297b, 298b, 299b

Grand total = 86 sides of the sheets.

The above list shows that at some places many pages together are lying blank as from 209b to 215a (12 sides), 114a to 119a (11 sides) or 289a to 293b (10 sides). Why did the writer leave these pages blank? Before arriving at a conclusion we must know that this tradition of leaving blank pages is not confined to our *Pothee* alone but it exists in other compilations also. For example in the Beed of Kartarpur according to the information provided by Bhai Jodh Singh

453 pages are completely blank. Above or below some pages, some space has been left blank. Taking that entire space into account and supposing that a page contains 24 lines, there is additional blank space of 133 pages. It means that out of 974 sheets some $586/2 = 293$ sheets are blank⁸⁴.

Numberless hand-written beeds and poetic collections of 1200 or 1400 pages or prose books are there (Some are available in the personal library of the writer), in which not a single blank page is available. According to the conjecture, if the final and standard form of a work, given a definite sequence, is to be copied, there is no need of leaving blank pages in between. The counter-conjecture is that if the writer, compiler, editor or the author looks forward to attaining other relevant

composition/compositions in the near future, there is possibility of leaving some blank pages in it: there is no such need in a fully prepared book. If some historian or compiler of Gurbani investigates the manuscripts and reports the period during which the tradition of leaving blank pages in the initial compilations of the Sikh society was current, it will be easier not only to fix the time of the manuscripts like this *Pothee* but also to reach the conclusion whether or not the only reason for leaving the pages blank was the incompleteness of the manuscript or there was some other reason also.

Well, when an investigation covering many manuscripts takes place we shall see but our problem to be immediately solved is why the writer of the *Pothee* left the pages blank and if this *Pothee* on the basis of blank pages can be included among the sources of the Beed connected with the seat of Guruship.

Before we can find the solution we shall examine the blank pages by classifying them. As per this classification, the first category is of those blank pages which have been stuffed in between some continuous hymn – some portion of the hymn is prior to these blank pages and the other portion continues after them. For instance the 'b' side of the sheets No. 9, 86, and 147 are lying blank while the hymn running on 'a' side has not reached the conclusion. The remainder of hymn continues after the blank pages.

Some other examples of this type are there in which the remaining part of the hymn continues after more than one blank page as it can be seen in connection with the pages with serial number 88b to 89b, 161b to 162b, 179a to 179b and 286a and b.⁸⁵

The second type of the blank pages is that in which the hymns have been completed on the previous pages. They are followed by blank page/pages and thereafter the new hymn starts. The examples of this type can be seen on earlier or later pages than 46b, 145a and 216a. In all the 3 cases one side of the sheet is lying blank while both the sides of the ensuing pages are without any writing; pages 11b and 12a: 81b and 82a: 84b and 85a: 103b and 104a; 150b and 151a; 195b and 196a, 207b and 208a are the instances. In addition to these, this category also includes examples in which three sides of the sheets are lying blank. For the examples of this type one has to see the pages 241a to 242a. If we accept the hymn under raag Wadhans in lande script on page 38b to be a later interpolation as it is, the pages 38a/b and 39a also will have to be accepted as the blank pages of the category.

The 3rd category of blank pages is that in which a large number of pages are lying blank. The instances of this category are : 114a to 119a; 164b to 168a (If the page 165a is accepted as blank, taking the hymn of Malaar raag to be a later interpolation); 297b to 299b (If the hymn in Goojaree raag written on page 298a and the one written in Bilaawal raag on page 299a may be supposed to be unwritten); 209b to 215a; 268b to 271a and 289a to 293b.

If we look at the above 3 categories with a keen and observant eye, the first category seems to be fundamentally irrelevant and meaningless because if somebody were to interpolate a hymn, he would not do so in between a running hymn. What seems to be is that 'b' side, on account of seepage of ink from 'a' side or due to some structural defect of the paper was not considered fit for writing or the writer would have left the

blank side by mistake. If it is not possible to believe the view that so many pages have been left blank by mistake one will have to accept the view of blindly inserting the sheets at so many places at the time of binding.

The objection against the first category does not hold good against the 2nd and 3rd categories, but the thing which defies comprehension is that if raags Dhanaasree, Basant and maaroo had been considered fit to have some blank pages at their end, why has no page been left blank at the end, why has not page been left blank at the end of raags Soohi, Parbhaatee, Bhaerau and Kedaara for the hymns reaching later? Did the writer know in advance that no additional bani could come in these raags because the entire bani had already been written in the Pothee? This last concept cannot be supported, but there must be some reason which made the writer leave so many pages blank. Can the illiterate binder be blamed for all this? Was there no custom of leaving some blank pages at some places without any reason? We have, no doubt, come to know of the confusion caused by the binder in displacing the sheets but will the binder have removed the pages left blank in the beginning or at the end of the Pothee and inserted them in the Pothee at different places in a self-willed manner as he has done in case of the written pages? I do not know whether or not satisfactory answers to such questions will ever be possible. But if the facility of scrutinizing the original Pothee is provided it is possible to get some clue. Up to that time we have to be content with the available incomplete knowledge; there is not other alternative.

XV

The differences of spellings.

There is no end of the mutual differences of spellings between the *Pothee* and Sree Guru Granth Sahib. If the spellings of one type are available in one compilation, the other compilation shows another form of words. At some places there is difference of the vowel symbols; at some other places the consonant clusters have been written as separate letters. At some places the consonants have been changed into vowels and at other places a vowel has been displaced by some other vowel or consonant. But a critical study of this aspect leaves an impression on the whole that the Aad Beed could not be a copy of the *Pothee* because otherwise while copying from a writing lying in front, so many and so variegated differences could not have been caused. Hereunder, we are giving the differences of spellings on only 7 pages of the *Pothee*, as a specimen. In the 2nd and 4th column of the list hereunder the spellings of the words in the *Pothee* have been given before the oblique line and those in Sree Guru Granth Sahib have been given after the oblique line. It needs to be clarified that in this portion we are considering only the differences of spellings of words and not the differences of words. Therefore, here we are not touching any other difference except that of the spellings of the words. The detail of the serial number of pages and the lines pertains only to the *Pothee*. As far as Guru Granth Sahib is concerned we have taken only the concerned word and given its spelling after the oblique line :

The	Pothee/Sree Guru	The page/	Pothee /
Sree Guru			
Page /	Granth Sahib	line of the	Granth Sahib
Line of		Pothee	
The Pothee			
2a/1	Netara/Netrau	5b/4	Tiso/Tisu

2a/1	Ni/Na	5b/5	Na(B)/Na(D)
2a/2	Tabi/Tab	5b/10	Aavni/Aavni
2a/3	Vidhi/Bidhi	5b/12	Wasani/Wasani
2a/3	Anbitu/Anmritu	5b/12	Ghati/Ghuti
2a/5	Praatee/Paatee	219a/1	Daeaalu/Dayaalu
2a/5	Tripati/Tripati	219a/1-2	Satguru/Satiguru
2a/6	Praan(B) Pran(D)	219a/3-4	Beeni/Bheen
2a/6	Ini/in	219a/7	Tujhae/Tujeh
2a/7	Ravat/Ravatu	219a/11-12	Kichoo/Kachhoo
2a/7	Kehte/Kehde	219a/12-13	Khoomraaju/ Khoonbraaju
2a/9	Kahae/Kahéh	219a/13	Rahau/Rahaao, kuraniki/kurank
2a/9	Bhagat/Bhagati	219b/1-2	Pardesu/Pardesu
2a/9	Heenu/Heen	219b/2-3	Karae/Kare
2a/10	Japae/Janpae	219b/3	Veechaaru/Beechaaru Jamu/Jam
2a/10	Salaahée/Saalaahée	219b/4	Put/Putr
2b/2	Naa/Na	219b/4-5	Kalat/Kalatr
		219b/5	Kare/Kareh
2b/3	Vikhu/Bikhu	219b/10	Kot/Koti
2b/8	So/Su	219b/11	Jo(i')/Jo (i')
2b/10	Hami/Ham	219b/12	Jooni/Joni
2b/10	Naahi/Na	235a/2	Dubhidha/Dubidha
2b/10	Naa/Na	235a/3	Saesaara/Sansaara Nppkjaehi/Bhoojeh
2b/11	Naaniku/Nanaku	235a/6	Naanik/Nanak
3a/1	Naahin/Nahi	235a/7	Rahuo / Rahaao
3a/2	Kiv/Kio	235a/8	Sir/Sree
3a/3	Na / Naa	235a/9-10	Paraani (B)/Praani(D)
3a/4	Vaenaa/Baenaa	235a/10	Ni/Na

3a/5	Seegaaru/Seegaar	235a/12	Naa / Na
3a/5	Kaamani (N)/Kaamani(D)	235b/1	Naanik/Nanak
3a/6	Na/Naa	235b/2	Satguri/Satifur
3a/8	Sivria/Simria	235b/5	Bhaero/Bhaerau
3a/11	Kanti/Kant	235b/8	Joonee/Jonee
3b/1	Bhanth (B)/Bhanati(D)	235b/9	Vista/Bista
3b/3	Ravesi/Raavesi	235b/10	Dhigu/Dhrigu
3b/5	Manju/Mannjh	246a/4	Lagae/Laagae
3b/5	Amavani/Ammavani	246a/5	Prahilaadi/Prahlaadi
3b/7	Chadadia/Chadandia	246a/6	Sunayee/Sunae
3b/7	Kavanu/Kaunu	246a/6-7	Apune/Aapne
3b/10	Ni/Na	246a/8	Didaayee/Dridaayee
4a/2	Amda/Anbda	246a/9	Kee/Keeyee
4a/3	Tin/Tinu	246a/12	Kirti/Kirat
4a/5	Dadae/Dade	246b/2	Praehlaad/Prahlaad, Sao/Sio
4a/6	Kanti/Kant	246b/6	Baaliku/Baalaku
4a/7	Kooja/Koonja	246b/7	Guru/Gur
4a/10	Jhaaloo/Jhaalu	246b/8	Anhoda(D)/Anhoda(B)
4b/5	Naanik/Nanak	246b/9	Su(ô)/So;[']
4b/9	koye/ko	246b/11	Prehilaad/Prahlaad
4b/10	Raas / Raasi	246b/12-13	Jagdeesu/Jagdees
4b/11	Sabaasi/Saabaasi		
5a/1	Vadiayae/Vadayia		
5a/2	Jeeau/Jeeo		
5a/3	Kaval/Kamalu		
5a/4	Bhaujalu/Bhavjalu		
5a/5	Bhareeaasu/Bhareeaasi		
5a/6	Sipti/Sifti		
5a/6	Taasu/Taasi		

5a/7	Muyeeaaas/Muyeeaaasi
5a/8	Agam/Agamu
5a/9	Payeeaaasu/Payeeaaasi
5a/11	Pyaass/Pyaassi
5b/2	Kahia/Kaeha
5b/3	Tam/Tim
5b/3	Maso/Masu
5b/3	Dhotae/Dhotia
5b/4	Dhovaehi/Dhova

At present we are not faced with the question as to which rules the two compilers had adopted in reproduction of the native and foreign, original or reformed vocabulary of Gurbani and Bhagat bani in Gumukhi script; nor are we considering the question as to which of them was more helpful in making the oral language the more standard, written language (Though it appears that the contribution of *Pothae* in this matter is more imaginative than realistic because it has remained behind the veil). The entire job demands a separate and extensive study. If my life and health stand by me I shall take in hand such jobs also, but the question before me at present is as to what conclusion the comparative study of spellings in *Pothae* and Sree Guru Granth Sahib can lead any justice-loving person. Did Sree Guru Arjan Dev Ji make *Pothae* the foundation of Sree Guru Granth Sahib in order to make the text of Sree Guru Granth Sahib standard or not?

Before giving a brief answer to this question I want to draw the attention of the scholarly readers to the fact that Guru Arjan Dev Ji himself did not regard the compilation of the Add Beed as compilation of any ordinary collection. Rather he was attaching

to it the importance of organizing a very big spiritual and literary yagya. Otherwise why should he have assigned a higher place to it than himself after the preparation of the Aad Beed. The number of differences of the spellings and the text between the Pothee and Sree Guru Granth Sahib, according to my Steno S. Satpal Singh can not be less than 12500; it may be more. When the compilation provides proofs of proof-reading like 'sudh' at the end of the Aasa Di Vaar (page 475 of Sree Guru Granth Sahib) and 'Shudhu keechhe' at the end Of Gaudi kee Vaar by the 5th Guru (Page 323 of Guru Granth Sahib). Were the compiler/editor and his colleageues who were scholarly and devoted Sikhs prepared to accept the copy of spellings and of text of bani in 7 or 8 raags, with 12 or 13 thousands of differences (besides the interpolations) as the true, eternal and divine versification? From no point of view does the fact seem to be realistic that Sree Guru Arjan Dev Ji had placed the Pothee before him for copying it.

Like other proofs which have already been mentioned the existence of differences of spellings in such a large number is a big proof that at the time of compilation and editing of the Aad Beed Guru Arjan Dev Ji did not place the Pothee before him. These differences support the view that the two compilations had their own independent sources; they are not the copies of the same direct literary source.

1] Essence.

There was a time when Sanskrit dominated the spiritual, philosophical, cultural and literary, firmament of entire India. Therefore, from Kashmir to Kanya Kumari and from Dwarka to Puri, all the grammarians and linguists who favoured the purity of words had unitedly stressed that in order to bring about the uniformity of words writing of reformed words would be

considered an error while writing Sanskrit. By doing this a form of original Sanskrit came into being which dominated the entire India. During the 13th to 16th centuries A.D. when the new Aryan languages with their reformed forms of words started flourishing in regional areas, they had before them more numerous models of classical Sanskrit and fewer models of equally strong, prakrits and apbhraṃśas. Secondly, because the new languages were fundamentally regional languages, the writers and scholars of every linguistic region had to work hard and carry out experiments to bring about the uniformity of spellings. The linguistic regions which enjoyed comparative peace saw fewer cultural divisions among their residents and continued the common work of literary creation. Therefore, they attained the uniformity of spellings sooner while the experiments to give written form to the spoken language continued in other linguistic regions.

In the matter of spellings both the Pothee and Sree Guru Granth Sahib are indicative of that linguistic stage when Gurmukhi script had landed on the scene claiming to be the sole medium of spiritual –philosophical – cultural and literary expression of Punjab, and was passing through the stages of various experiments. It is evident from the comparative study of the spellings used only on 7 pages of the Pothee and Sree Guru Granth Sahib that they are indicative of two different experiments and not copies of the same experiment. That is why from the viewpoint of the spellings, the allegation against Sree Guru Granth Sahib of copying the Pothee does not carry conviction.

Differences of the text in the *Pothēe*.

The mutual relationship of the *Pothēe* and Sree Guru Granth Sahib has been considered from many points of view in the last pages. Still, though investigation of every aspect has pointed to Guru Granth Sahib's being free from any direct or indirect influence of the *Pothēe*, the decisive conclusion can in no other way be derived as can be done by a mutual comparison of the two using the same text. In the present day era the task of comparing and finding mutual differences of the common text between two voluminous collection cannot be imagined without the amenity of a computer. I was without this amenity and yet I have tried to complete this work with the help of my steno S. Satpal Singh.

We come to know at the initial stage of the comparative study that there is no end to the textual differences, like the differences of the spellings. Many a time we find a number of differences in one line. When somebody writes 'tis' instead of 'tin' (235a/6), kesava instead of Madhva (219a/2), Naama instead of Naamdeo' (ibid). thao (ṁ) instead of thao (E) [219a/9] and 'dhoodhae' instead of 'Bhaale' (219b/1) ,it is natural to suspect that the one manuscript is not the copy of the other. This list of textual differences is very long and the printing of the entire list will imply extra increase in the volume and expense of the book. But then, some reader can say that depriving him of this information is serious injustice to him. Therefore, in the second volume of the *Pothēe* containing the original text we have used the device of expressing all small and big differences by deletions or by drawing lines. Whosoever wants to satisfy himself more about the abundance of these differences he can

conveniently look there and satisfy himself. Here we are presenting only some specimens out of the whole lot which can be helpful in settling the question.

1] Those hymns which are available in the *Pothee* but not in Sree Guru Granth Sahib.

From the viewpoint of the problem under consideration most noticeable are those hymns/compositions which are entered in the *Pothee*, but are not available under that raag or under any other raag in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. Though they have already been mentioned in one or the other part, it is very relevant to draw the attention towards them in the current context. Hereunder, we are giving the 1st lines of such hymns/compositions.

- A] Kari laalach manu lobhaana kio kari chhutiyaee jee (3rd Guru, page 30b).
- B] Pir#kae rang rati sohaagani andinu raliya maanae (Gulaam; page 53b]
- C] Mae avganyaari ko gunu nahi (Gulaam; page 54a]
- D] Pir kae sangi rati sohaagani andinu raliya maanae (Sada Sewak; Page 54b]
- E] Pake mandap mehal hajaara (Gulaam; Page 55a].
- F] Jaese rangu supne nidhi payee man hi manu samaana (Kabir; page 55b]
- G] Kuslu kuslu kari sabhu jagu binsiya padio kaal ki phassi (Kameer; page 60b]
- H] Maat kahae mere putra ghari anni kio sarsi (Namdev; Page 61a)
- I] Jis kaarani tanu manu jaalia (Sekh Saraf; page 61b)
- J] Sehj bhaaye milaaya Guru poorae vichahu haumae khoyee (Gulaam; page 102a).

- K] Aapanae vasi keeto nu sabh kichhu hor su vathi kichhu naahi (Gulaam;Page 102b].
- L] Kaamu karodhu maayua madu meethe dal badal jio onvi rahe (4th Guru; Page 127b).
- M] Gurmukhi naamu japae janu koyee (Sada Sewaku; page 149b).
- N] Dehuri bheetari Saru sareh lheetari jalu jaleh bheeteh aachhae nij kavalang (Trilochan; Page 159b)
- O] Jini maata ke odak odar maahi keeya Daas duaara (Dhana; Page 160a).
- P] Aape hi santu bhagti laayo aape daetu chidaaya (Sada Sewak; Page 206a).
- Q] Jeta kapadu angi hadhaaya (Sada Sewak; Page 206b).
- R] Kisan basant bhale tumi aaye duaaDaasi ban tan phoole (Namdev; Page 221b).
- S] Haumae mamta sabde khoyee (Sada Sewak; Page 250a)
- T] Soyee pandit ji haumae sabadi jalaavae (Sada Sewaku; page 250a).
- U] Satguri poorae naamu didaaya (Sada Sewaku; page 251a)
- v) Santan kae iku rotu jaachula se rot le naatho beethula (Namdev; page 265a).
- w) Satgur beaajhahu kinee na paayo sabh thaki karam kamaaye (Sada sewak and Gulaam; page 278a).
- x) Chaali achal bhayee thiti payee jeh kee taha Samaayee) Kabir; 86 page 285a).
- y) Alahu eku kareem kudrati sachu kadru paaku (Ist Guru⁸⁶ page 297a).

Taking the hymns by Gulaam and Sada Sewak to be unauthentic bani and not including them in Sree Guru Granth Sahib can easily be accounted for but if the *Pothae* was before Guru Arjan

Dev, what was the reason for not accepting for Sree Guru Granth Sahib the hymns composed by Guru Nanak Dev, Guru Amar Daas, Guru Amar Daas, Guru Raam Daas, Kabir, Namdev , Trilochan and Dhanna Ji particularly when it is claimed that the *Pothee* is an older collection than Aad Beed. Our answer is simple and clear that the compiler of the Aad beed did not have this *Pothee* before him. He had some different source material before him which did not contain these hymns.

2) Differences of the composers.

If, for some moments the hearsay of Pothee's presence before Guru Arjan Dev is accepted and it is presumed that Guru Arjan Dev did not possess some older and more trust-worthy document than the *Pothee*, We will have to accept that it was the erudite Guru's editorial obligation to accept the names of the composers of the hymns exactly as they are given in the Pothee. He could not forcibly remove that label of one writer and hang another's in its place without any rhyme or reason. It was essential for him to possess uncontradictable proofs to do so. But when we have a proof before us that the Guru's view about the writers of many hymns, not to speak of one or two, was fundamentally different from the one given in the *Pothee*, we will be forced to say that the Guru possessed some means independent of the *Pothee*, which he considered to be more reliable, The scholars who are fond of repeating the sentences "I do not agree; the Guru Sahib may have had some other material, but this Pothee was the oldest material with him and that the Aad Beed has been prepared from it, can be recommended to compare the text of every hymn in the *Pothee* with that given in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. They will concede

that their view is not convincing. They should also be asked whether there will be such and so many differences in their compilation if they were asked to prepare one, as we find between the *Pothee* and *Sree Guru Granth Sahib*. The readers are directed to see the 5th addendum regarding differences of the writers.

3] A serious difference.

There are two separate hymns by Bhagat Namdev Ji under raag Bhaero in the *Pothee*. The initial lines of those hymns are :

- a. Hidoo gardani marrau tohi (page 265b).
- b. Sultaanu poochhae kahu re naama tera soami kaesa hae (page 266b).

Sree Guru Granth Sahib. contains only one hymn under this raag and by this Bhagat the first line of which is :

- 1) Sultaanu poodhae sunu be naama (page 1165 of *Sree Guru Granth Sahib*.)

It this hymn is perused by keeping it along the hymns of the *Pothee* it becomes clear that both the hymns of the *Pothee* are included in this one hymn given in *Sree Guru Granth Sahib*. This should make it quite clear that these two hymns of the *Pothee* and one concerned hymn given in *Sree Guru Granth Sahib*. have come down from two separate singing or oral sources and that this *Pothee* from Ahiyapur is not the basis for *Sree Guru Granth Sahib*.

The oldest manuscript containing the Bhagat bani is lying preserved among the collection of books in the Royal palace of Jaipur. This was written in the year 1582 A.D. and contains the bani of Bhagat Namdev Ji. We have already stated that Bhagat

Namdev Ji is believed to have died in the year 1350 A.D. Where did his bani remain preserved during the period between the earliest writing of his verse and the year of his death? The answer is that it remained preserved in the memories of the groups of singers and reciters. As is quite natural while travelling from one band of singers to the other the text of the verse changed a little with the passage of time. This hymn of Bhagat Namdev is an uncontrdictable proof of this process and shows that the differences in the text of hymns preserved in these two collections originated in the memories of two separate bands of hymn-singers. The form of the hymn as written in the *Pothee* came from one band of singers while its form as remembered by another group can be seen in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. If the *Pothee* had been before Guru Arjan Dev what need should he have felt to adopt another form of the hymns apart from the one that descended from his own family sources? This example is another decisive proof to show that the two collection had their separate sources; the two had different means. That is why by including the *Pothee* among the direct sources of Sree Guru Granth Sahib, we are faced with questions to which we have no answer.

4] Additional lines to those given in the *Pothee*.

The *Pothee* contains some hymns some lines of which have been missed by the writer while writing. These missed lines are available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. Next, this point is being clarified through some illustrations. The missed lines of the *Pothee* included in Sree Guru Granth Sahib have been given distinctly in bolder type.

S. No. *Pothee.***Sree Guru Granth Sahib.**

-----	-----
a] Na tisu roops na rekhia kaayee.	Naa tisu roopu na rekhia kaayee.
. Anti na Sahibu sivria jaayee 3	Anti na Sahibu simria jaayee 3
Kharee syaani ta kant na bhaani.	<u>Surati mati naahi chaturaayee.</u>
Maaya laagi ta bharami bhulaani 4	<u>Kari kirpa prabh laavahu paayee 4 </u>
haumae jaayee tan kanti samaayee.	Kharee syaani kant naa bhaanee.
Iv kaamani piaare navidhi 5	Maaya laagee bharami bhulaanee 5
Bhanath naaniku sahu hae bhee hosi.	Haumae jaayee ta kant Samaayee.
Jae bhaave priaara tae	Tau kaamani pyalare
ravesi 6 3 (page 3a-b)	Navinidhi paayee 6
	<u>Anik janam bichhurat dukhu paaya.</u>
	<u>Karu geh lehu preetam prabh raaya 7 </u>
	Bhanati Nanaku sahu hae bee hosi.
	Jae bhaavae piaara tae
	raavesi 8 1 (page 750)
b] Tau Sahib kee khabari na jaani,	Tae Sahib kee mae saar
na jaani.,	na jaani.
Jobanu khoye pichhae	Jobanu khoye paachhae
Pachhutaani 1 raahau	pachhutani 1 rahaao
Vichhhan khoohi mudh akelee.	<u>Kali Koyil too kit gun kaali.</u>
Koye na saathee koye naa beli.	<u>Apne preetam ke hau birhae jaali.</u>
Jeh dekha teh Sahibu beli 2	<u>Pirahi bihoon katahi sukhu paaye.</u>
Vaat hamree kharee	<u>Jaa hoye kripaalee taa prabhoo</u>
Oodeenee (page 58b-59a)	<u>milaaye 2 </u>
	Vidhan khoohi mudh ikelee.
	Naa ko saathee naa ko belee

Kari kirpaa prabhi saadh sangi melee.

Jaa phiri dekhaa taa mera alaho

belee || 3 ||

Vaat hamaaaree kharee udeenee,

(page 794)

C] Kaachae karvae rahae na paanee. Kaachae karvae rahae na paani.

Hans chaloya kaaya koomlaanee || 2 || Hansi chaliya kaaya kumlaanee || 2 ||

Kagu udaavat bhuja piraanee. Kuaar kaniya jaese karat seegaara.

Kahae kameeru en katha siraanee

|| 3 || || 7 || (Page 59b)

Kio raliya maanae baajhu bhataara || 3 ||

Kaag udaavat bhuja piraanee.

Keh Kabir en ketha siraani || 4 || || 2 ||

(page 792).

D] Sut sanpau aa bhayee vadiaayee.

Indra lok siv lokeh jaebo.

Khoji rahae kichhu sangi na jaayee

Ochhe tap kari baahuri aebo || 1 ||

|| 1 || Kia magau kichhu thir naahi.

Kia maangau kichh thir naahi.

Raamu naamu rakhu man

Raam naam rakhu man

Maahi / 1 Rahao // Dev Loki Siv Loki

Maahi// 1// Rahaao // Sobha raaj

Jaaiyae // Hochni bhagti bahudi phun

bibhae badiyaayee// Anti na

Aaiyae // 2// Putu kalatu dhanu sampae maaya//

kahoo sang sahaayee

// 2// Putr klatr Lachami Maaiya //

Kahu kinae iss te sukhu

In te kahu kavanae sukhu

Paaya || 3 || (page 156a/b)

Paaya || 3 || (page 692).

E] Sakhi saheli garab

Sloku. Patit puneet asankh hohi

Gagelhi, Too suni

hari charanee manu laag.

Piaare kee baat

Athsathi teerath namu

Suheli, || 1 ||

prabh nanak jisu mastik

(page 274a)

bhaag || 1 ||

sabadu

sakhi saheli garab gaheli.

Suni sah kee ik baat suheli || 1 ||

(page 990)

The question naturally arises “on what basis were these additions made ?” I do have an answer to this question but what do those gentlemen who consider *Pothee* to be the source of the scripture and the Guru, of the sikhs say?

5] Lines non-existent in comparison with the *Pothee*.

Contrary to the above examples there are instances in which the lines given in the *Pothee* are not available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. For instance :

S. No. Pothee.

Sree Guru Granth Sahib

A] Chaari ved aru simiriti

Chaari bed aru sinmriti

Purana,

purana, Kamlaapati

Kavalaapati kavala naahi

Kavala nahin jaanan || 3 ||

jaana || 3 ||

Keh Kabir so bharne

Je gun hohi taa utrasi

naahi, pag lagi Raam

teera. Gun bihoone

rahae sarnanhi || 4 || 1 ||

Boode bin neera || 4 || kaho

(page 691-92)

Kabir jo bharamae naahi.

Pag lagi Raam rahae

Sarnaayee || 5 || 3 ||

(Page 153b)

b] <u>Sut sanpau aa bhayee</u>	Indro lok siv lokeh
<u>vadiaayee. Khoj rahae</u>	jaebo. Ochhe tap kari
<u>kichhu sangi na jaayee</u>	bahuri aebo 1 kia
1 kia maagau kichhu	maangau kichhu thiru
thir naahee. Ramu	naahi. Raam naam rakhu
Naamu rakhu man maahi	man maahi 1 Rahaao
1 Rahau <u>Dev lokee</u>	
<u>siv loki jaayae. Hochhee</u>	Sobha Raaj bibhae
. <u>Bhagti bahudi phuni</u>	badiaayee. Anti na kaahoo
aayae 2 putu klatu	sang sahaayee 2 Putr
dhan samkae maaya kaho	
kinae iss te sukhu paaya	klatr lachhmi maaya . In
3 (page 156a-b).	teh kahu kavanae sikhu paaya
	3 (page 692)

When such liberties have been taken on both sides the copyists can be blamed for the omissions and one can under rate the omissions. But when the material of one compilation and the material used in the other compilation are placed under comparative scanner and investigated, these differences are not smali; they assume the form of big proofs. If there was a fear of

the hymn's, remaining incomplete without these lines ; why did Guru Arjan Dev and Bhai GurDaas not make good the loss by copying from the *Pothee* lying before them ? The only ready-made answer to this question is that Guru Arjan Dev and Bhai GurDaas had no *Pothee* with them and , therefore, the question of its use does not arise.

6] Extra words in comparison with the *Pothee*.

Numberless words are not available in the text of the *Pothee* but they are available in the text of Sree Guru Granth Sahib; as, for instance, the word 'hau' on pages 3b/6 and 3b/12, 'mae' in 4a/3, 'jeeo' in 4a/5, 'hau' in 4a/5, 'tisu' in 4a/6, 'agae' in 4a/9 ' kaayee' in 4b/7, 'tera' in 6b/3, 'Je' in 6b/7, in 7a/6, 7, 8, 'jeeo' in 7b/2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 'jeeo' in 8a/1, 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 'jeeo' in 9a/1, 2, 'darsanu in 16a/1 etc. This list is continuous and affirms my point of view.

7] Some missing words in comparison with the *Pothee*.

Just as there are many extra words in of Sree Guru Granth Sahib as compared with the *Pothee*, in the same way some words given in the *Pothee* are not available in of Sree Guru Granth Sahib. For example the word 'kee' given in line No 5 on page 10 of the *Pothee* is missing. In the same way 'jis' in 10b/8, 'Raam' in 13a/6 and 14a/1,'je' in 14a/10 and 'Raam' in 14a/11, 14b/9 and 15b/10). There are numberless instances of this type.

Somebody can say about the words missing in Sree Guru Granth Sahib in comparison with the *Pothee* that the coyist had omitted them while copying ; but what can one say about

the additional words This is not all, Both the missed and additional words include some such words as show the singing styles of the various bands of singers or reciters. For example the existence of the word 'jeeo' at the end of a line in of Sree Guru Granth Sahib (see page 751) or the repetition of the word Raam in the *Pothae* (see pages 13a/6 and 14a/1) are certainly indicative of the devices of the bands of the singers/ reciters to make up the rhythm of the tunes which the Gurus made a firm part of the writing.

8] Essence.

Though all the aspects of comparison between the *Pothae* and of Sree Guru Granth Sahib are important in their own way so far as the matter of give and take between two compilations is concerned, yet no other aspect can be so significant as the comparative study of the text in the two compilations. After all we want to find only whether or not the *Pothae* has been used in the preparation of the Aad Beed, and if it has been used, to what extent it has been done. The matter of its usage is related first of all and direct to the text ; all other aspects deserve consideration later. The text includes the bani, different meter used in it, the words and their spellings etc. If there is congruence of these in the two compilations one must investigate to find their influence. But if there is a greater number of differences as compared to the number of similarities, one conclusion can be that their relationship is hypothetical. The conclusion we are arriving at in the matter of text is that the Guru Sahib while preparing the Aad Beed had not placed the *Pothae* before him. The conclusion that had been derived in the 'portion dealing with spellings is forcefully

confirmed by the study of the textual differences. If the number of textual differences in the small quantity of the bani in a few raags reaches thousands and the nature of differences is serious instead of ordinary, what other conclusion can be derived?

So the *Pothee* has become neither the source, not the basis of Sree Guru Granth Sahib. In this way the entire hearsay regarding Guru Arjan Dev's composing and singing a hymn in praise of Baba Mohan Ji in order to procure *Pothee/Pothees*, his taking *Pothee/Pothees* to Amritsar and returning them after benefiting by them comes out to be an invention of those keepers of the *Pothee* who had inserted the fake page bearing the Sammat and the one carrying the blessing-curse in the beginning of the *Pothee*. Making selfish use of the Chhant "Mohan tere oochhe mandar" in of Sree Guru Granth Sahib and deviating from its original meaning must have certainly started from these sources.

So many of the hymns contained in the *Pothee* are not available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib and many hymns contained in Sree Guru Granth Sahib are missing in the *Pothee*. Some hymns have been written in Sree Guru Granth Sahib with certain lines whereas in the *Pothee* they have been reproduced without those lines. On the contrary many lines of the hymns given in the *Pothee* are not available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib. The same hymn has been shown as composed by one writer in the *Pothee* and in Sree Guru Granth Sahib it is shown to have been composed by another writer. The *Pothee* contains two hymns by Bhagat Namdev, while in Sree Guru Granth Sahib they have been bracketed into one. In addition to these there are examples in the *Pothee* and Sree Guru

Granth Sahib in which the sequence of the lines has been changed. The illustration of this last type is as under :

<i>Pothee</i>	Sree Guru Granth Sahib
Dekhahoo loka kali ka bhaao.	<u>Joye khasamu hae jaaya Pooti</u>
Suti muslaayee aapunee	<u>bapu khelaya. Binu sravana</u>
Maao 1 rahao <u>Joye</u>	<u>kheeru pilaaya</u> 1 dekhahu
<u>Khasamu hae jaaya. Pooti</u>	loga kali ko bhaao. Suti
<u>Baapu khelaaya. Binu</u>	muklaayee apnee maao 1
<u>Sarvana kheeru pilaaya</u>	rahaao) Page 1194).
1 (Page 220 a)	

In this way if despite differences of this sort somebody harps the tune that the Aad Beed is indebted to the *Pothee*, it will be sheer injutice.

XVII

The Hymns by the 4th and 5th Gurus.

1. The bani by the 4th Guru.

The *Pothee* contains six hymns bearing the title of the 4th Guru. In additon, there are 6 other hymns which are without any title but have been given after the hymns under the title of the 4th Guru and have, thus, been taken to have been composed by the 4th Guru. We shall talk about the hymns under the title of the 5th Guru later. Here, for ready reference, we are giving the list of the alleged compositions of the 4th Guru:

S. No.	Raag	Composer	First line	Page	writer in
		In the <i>Pothee</i>			Sree Guru Granth Sahib.
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
a]	Dhanaasree	Mehar Chauth	4Kaam krodhu maaya madu meethe dal badal jio onavi rahe.	127b	x
b]	Basantu	4 th Guru	Raate sachi naami hari nihaala.	177b	3 rd Guru
c]	Basantu	4 th Guru	Sagal bhavan Teri maaya Mohi.	178a	Ist Guru
d]	Bassantu	4 th Guru	Meri sakhee sahelee sunahu bhaye mera piru reesaaloo sangi khaye.	180a	Ist Guru

E] Basantu	4 th Guru	Aape kudrati Kare saaji.	181a	Ist Guru
F] Basantu	x	Saacha sahu Guru Sukhdata hari mel gavaaye.	183a	Ist Guru
The upper half has been Suppressed by The marginal line)				
g] Basantu	4 th Guru	Manu bhoolo Manu bhoolo Bharmasi aaye Jaaye.	199a	Ist Guru
h] Basantu	x	Mat bhasm Adhoole garabi Jaaye.	200b	Ist Guru
i] Basantu	x	Darsan kee piaas jisu nar hoye.	201b	Ist Guru
j] Basantu	x	Dubidha Durmati Andhuli kaar.	203a	Ist Guru
K] Basantu	x	Aape bhavara Phool veli.	203b	Ist Guru
L] Basantu	x	Chanchalu Cheetu na Paavae paara.	204b	Ist Guru

Any individual who looks at the *Pothee* superficially and has some sense of the the device of recognizing the composer will find the above table correct as per the original. But one who is used to reaching the core will miss nothing. For example , the original has 6 hu,ns under the title of the 4th Guru. The writer of the remaining 6 humns has been supposed to be the 4th Guru, considering the usual style of the writer. If the information about the writer is credible, the writer of untitled hymns following it will be free from suspicion. But as we shall see presently, the regrettable fact is that even the ist hymn giving information about the writer is deficient and, therefore, the information about the writer of ensuing hymns becomes suspect. The detail is as under :

The page 122b carries the hymn with the title “ raag Dhanasari Mehal3 (Nadri kare ta sivria jaaye). The four ensuing hymns do not have the title of Mehal and give information of Dhanaasree only (Jeeo tapatu hae baaro baara; choru Salaahae chitu na bheejae; kaaya kaagadu manu parvaana’ and kaalu naahi jogu naahi , naahi sat kaa dhabu). According to the device adopted by the writer all these four hymns should be by Guru Amar Daas Ji. The 4th hymn concludes on page 126b. On this very page the title in the upper 9th line is ‘Dhanaasree mehalu 3’ (In this connection please see the 5th question of the 1st addendum). The hymn given below it (Ham bheekhak bhekhaari tere too nij pati hae data) concludes at the end of the page 127.a . The 1st line of the page 127b bearing the title Dhanaasree is in the same hand as has written the a and b sides of the sheet No. 127 but some other hand has written mehal 4, deleted it for once and then written mehal on the same line and chauth 4 on the lower line. This

hymn is concluded on page 128a (In this connection please see the 5th question of the 1st addendum); and the hymn that commences next carries the title Dhanaasree Mehl 3. In fact the writer of the *Pothee* had supposed this hymn to have been written by Guru Amar Daas —this conclusion is naturally derived from the above sequence of the hymns. In this way the title Mehal 4 is certainly an interpolation. This hymn (kaamu krodhu maaya mad meethe dal badal jeo onvi tahe) with the title mhala 4 is not available in Sree Guru Granth Sahib.

Now we take up the hymn under Basant raag (Raate sachi naami hari nihaala) which bears the title mahala 4 above it, on page 177b. The story of this hymn commences from the last line of page 177a where at the end of the hymn a piece of information “Basant Mehal 3” is given. Somebody has tried to destroy its legibility by drawing a circle around every letter and the figure of Mehal 3 with dark ink. Instead of this he has written mahala 4 with some different pen at the head of the hymn starting on page 177b. So, without any other proof the deletion by the writer of this hymn and the provision of the new information becomes incredible. (For the opinion of the specialist please see the 6th question of the 1st addendum).

The next hymn bearing the title mhala 4 occurs on page 178a where the original writer has given the title Basantu in the 3rd lowest line of the page and a new hymn (sagl bhavan teri maya mohi) has been written next to it but some other pen in some other ink has added mahala 4 next to the title Basant. According to the original writer this was a composition by the 3rd Guru, Guru Amar Daas Ji. Because the hymn prior to it had been accepted as written by him. The hymn commencing on

page 178a of the *Pothee* concludes in the 6th line on page 300a to which we have given the new number 180a (In this connection please see the 4th question of the 1st addendum.). On its conclusion the following information has been given: || 4 || 13 || Basantu' and from the next line a new hymn *meri sakhi saheli sunaho bhaaye) has been given. Basant is the title of the new hymn giving information about the raag. Here it has not been deemed imperative to write mahala 3 to give information about the writer because a chain of hymns by Guru Amar Daas Ji is continuing; but the person fond of interpolation who had started the enterprise of showing the compositions of the 3rd Guru as by the 4th Guru found vacant space here also to show his activity. So, without deleting anything he wrote mahala 4 Unfortunately the pen soaked more ink in the dip and the letter 'mamma' (M) was written bolder. The interpolator wrote the next letters and the figure (hal 4) with an almost dry pen, which announce of their own, to be an interpolation in contrast with the rest of the page.

The new hymn (Aape kudrati kare saaji) which starts with the 5th line on page 181a bears the title 'Basantu' to give information about the raag in the middle of the 4th line. Here also some other writer, finding vacant space has written 'Mehal 4' with some other pen and in a dim ink. In this manner there is no doubt in its being an interpolation. The writer of the *Pothee* had taken this hymn also for the one written by Guru Amar Daas Ji.

A new hymn "Saacha Sahu Guru Sikhdata har mele bhukh gavaaye" starts on page 163 b. some title was there atop it, but it has been suppressed by the margin and is not legible at present. Perhaps basantu was written there. It

had been accepted to have been composed by the 4th guru because it follows another hymn under his title. In fact it is the 16th hymn of the current series of the third Guru and is Guru Ram Daas Ji's composition.

The next hymn by the 4th Guru (manu bhoolo bharmasi aaye jaaye) commences on page 199a. Above the 3rd lowest line of the hymn title Basantu Mehal 4 has been written. If one is not trained in the study of the manuscripts, it is very difficult to detect the interpolation made in this title. The straight line of the letter 'Mamma' (M) of Mahala 4 has been twisted downwards from above. This way the whole of letter mamma has been written without even lifting the pen once; whereas on the whole of the rest of the page the letter mamma has been written by lifting the pen twice; So this entry of Mahala 4 does not seem to be credible. In this connection the report of Shri K.S. Puri is worth reading (kindly see the 7th question of the 1st addendum).

The next 5 hymns belong to the same category and run in the *Pothee* in continuity. The title of the new hymn (mat bhasm adhoole garbi jaaye) commencing on page 200b is Basant. Next to it there are hymns (Darsan kee pyaas jisu nar hoye) starting on page 201b, the hymn (dubhidha durmati andhulee kaar) starting on page 203a, the hymn (Aape bhavra phool veli) on page 203b, and (chanchal cheetu na paavae paara) on page 204b, all the 5 bear the title Basantu and no information has been provided about the writer ; but as it has been made clear so far, all these hymns are part of the running sequence of astpadies by Guru Amar Daass. In this way as

per the internal study of the *Pothee*, these 5 hymn also do not prove to be the composition of Guru Raam Daas.

All the above 12 hymns Which are demed to have been written by Guru Ram Daas do not prove to be so whether they bear the title of the 4th Guru or not. According to the *Pothee* all these hymns are the composition of 3rd Guru, as can be seen in the table given above. But in Sree Guru Granth Sahib only one hymn out of these has been accepted as the composition of the 3rd Guru and all other remaining hymns have been taken to be the creation of Guru Nanak Dev Ji.

It has already been stated that the hymn given in raag Dhanaasree on page 127b does not exist in Sree Guru Granth Sahib.

2] The bani of the 5th Guru.

The *Pothee* contains one such hymn as provides the information that it is the composition of the 5th Guru It is written above the 1st line on page 136b: Dhanaasree pasto. "The writing in the second line is "maroo gadaao mahala pajva 5" and next in the 3rd line, the hymn (mere saaha mae hari darsani sukhu hoye) starts. The information of the next "mahala pajva 5" has been provided by some other hand later. There is no doubt about it; yet I consider this hymn to be one of the most significant ones in the *Pothee* due to some reasons.

- a] The first reason is that this hymn also is written by the same hand as had written the pages prior to it, due to which it can not be called an interpolation.

b] This hymn has been deemed to have been composed by Guru Ram Daas in Sree Guru Granth Sahib {page 670}. The writer of the *Pothee* has not given the name of the composer in the title; but it can be assessed from the hymns prior to it that the writer has incorporated it in the *Pothee*, assuming it to be the writing of the 3rd Guru. If the writer had known that this hymn had been written by Guru Ram Daas, he would not have given it any place in his *Pothee*. The writer of the *Pothee* assumes it to be the writing of the 3rd Guru Sahib but in Sree Guru Granth Sahib it has been given as the writing of the 4th Guru Sahib; while the interpolator of the *Pothee* is happy at stating it to be the writing of 5th Guru. Out of these 3 sources, Sree Guru Granth Sahib is the most reliable by virtue of its prestige but the argument also leads us in this direction. More than any body else the 5th Guru could know whether this hymn was his composition or that of his father. If he himself does not accept this composition to be his own, who, at the instance of the interpolator will accept this hymn as the composition of the 5th Guru Sahib.

The view of the *Pothee*-writer is in favour of accepting this hymn to be the writing of the 3rd Guru. First of all this reference is not certain like Sree Guru Granth Sahib (It is without the mention indicative of the writer). Secondly, one cannot deny that there was a greater possibility of the preservation of the entire bani of Guru Ram Daas with his son who was also his successor than with the group of Baba Mohan and Sahansar Ram. So, the sum and substance is that this hymn is a writing of Guru Ram Daas

while the writer of the *Pothee* has preserved it as the writing of Guru Amar Daass.

This conclusion proves the *Pothee* to have been written after the death of Guru Amar Daas.

In this introduction another hymn also has been shown as the composition of the 5th Guru. This hymn (chandan choa ras bhog karat anek bikhia bikaar dekhu sagal hae pheeke) is written on page 137a after the conclusion of the last hymn. This hymn does not give any information about the writer. It has been supposed to have been written by Guru Arjan Dev because the hymn prior to it has the “Mahala pajva 5” as its title. Now when the prior hymn has been proved not to be a composition of Guru Arjan Dev this hymn also cannot be accepted to have been written by him on the basis of the argument of the previous writer. It will be deemed to have been written by him because Sree Guru Granth Sahib shows it to be the writing of the 5th Guru (page 678).

But accepting this hymn to be the composition of Guru Arjan Dev does not help in fixing the date of *Pothee*’s writing, because it is written by some other hand and is an interpolation. The sum and substance of the discussion regarding the writings of the 4th and 5th Guru in the *Pothee* is as under:

- A] Not a single hymn bearing the title of the 4th Guru Sahib is written by the 4th Guru and
- B] One hymn under the title of the 5th Guru is written by Guru Ram Daas Ji and is existent.

XVIII

Mohan Tere Ooche Mandar.

There is a Chhant under raag Gauri by the 5th Guru in Sree Guru Granth Sahib 'Mohan tere Ooche Mandar mehal apaara' (page 248) A controversy has been raging among the scholars of the Gurbani about the meaning of the word Mohan The question is as to what was the context in which this hymn with the word Mohan had been composed. Did it refer to the Almighty or Baba Mohan Ji, the son of Guru Amar Daas ? In reply to this question many old Sikh historians freely mention the name of Baba Mohan Ji. This is the chhant about which it is well known that after the singing of this hymn by Guru Arjan Dev, Baba Mohan Ji handed over the *Pothees* of Gurbani preserved by him to the former. Some sagacious persons with good sense interpret this hymn saying that this hymn is dedicated to the Almighty who enchants and that this hymn had been composed earlier but when it was sung under the attic of Baba Mohan Ji, he took it as composed in his honour and feeling pleased handed over the *Pothees* to Guru Arjan Dev. I feel that Bhai Veer Singh Ji's interpretation gives meanings of this type (We do not mean that Guru Ji did not sing the hymn on this occasion we want to submit that this hymn or this chhant had been composed in honour of the Almighty . One should not be astonished if this hymn was included in the singing or was sung singly at that time⁸⁷.) After reading the interpretation of this chhant by the scholars one cannot escape the deep feeling that the consciousness of the current anecdote pertaining to the Pothees of Baba Mohan Ji does not allow our scholars to interpret it

correctly; otherwise there would not have been any great difficulty in interpreting this hymn as purely dedicated to the Almighty.

Because Proferssor Sahib Singh Ji considers the whole story surrounding this hymn to be mere fiction (“Believing some invented story, it is a mistake to use the word Mohan for Baba Mohan Ji⁸⁸”), therefore he does not allow Baba Mohan Ji even to come near his interpretation but Professor Teja Singh who was the main interpreter in “Shabadaarth” starts by regarding Baba Mohan Ji as wholly and solely the addressee of Guru Arjan Dev Ji. The line of the chhant is : “Mohan tere bachan anoop chaal niraali”

87. Santhya Sree Guru Granth Sahib Ji Book 4th 1992, New Delhi , Bhai Veer Singh Saahit Sadan. Page 1586.
88. Sree Guru Granth Sahib Darpan book 2., 1963, Jalandhar Raj Publishers, page 495.

Professor has clarified in a foot note : “Here the unusual conduct and living of Baba Mohan Ji are hinted at”⁸⁹ The interpretation of Professor Teja Singh ‘s type meaning by it Baba Mohan have been done by some other interpreters also ,but their number is not very large for example among these scholars was Pandit Narain Singh of Muzang⁹⁰ . But a Large number among these scholars is of those who are divided between meaning of the Almighty on one side and that of Baba Mohan Ji on the other under the influence of the prevalence of the story. This type can include Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha [“From this very noble soul Sree Guru Arjan Dev Ji had acquired the Pothees of Gurbani in Sammat 1660. He had spent all his life staying at Goindwal . The word Mohan in “ Mohan tere oochhe mandar mehal apaara “ Has two meanings i.e. the

Almighty and Baba Mohan⁹¹”]; Gyani Chanda Singh who under the influence of the story pertaining to Mohan saw the almighty inhabiting the body of Baba Mohan Ji { “ You are going away assuming the form of Mohan⁹² “) Bhai Sham Singh also belonged to the center of Gyani Chanda Singh and only followed in the foot steps of his predecessor One can see the interpretation “Mohan tere bachan anoop“ as then he opened this window and used harsh words which were praised by the Sahib You believe in one God Almighty and you are one with him We believe in you and you believe in one God head⁹³ and Sant Sute Prakash also has directed his

89. Shabadaarth , first book, 7th edition, dateless, Amritsar, Shromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, page 248.
90. Sree Guru Granth Sahib Ji pad chhed ate steek , 2nd book, Muzang , Bhai Chattar Singh dateless , Pages 1158-63.

interpretation of the hymn towards Baba Mohan Ji, but at the same time he has also given the inner meanings in which Mohan becomes the symbol of Almighty (Guru Arjan Dev himself came to Goindwal and sang his praises. As per the inner meanings Mohan is the name of Almighty God⁹⁴.

One sample of the crisis of the meaning of this hymn is presented by my able friend Gyani Harbans Singh Ji who in his interpretation of Guru Granth Sahib has given only one meaning of the word Mohan : the Almighty who enchants. In his elaborate meanings also he gives the same interpretation : “O you Almighty God that charm everybody your abode and place are matchless.

O you Mohan (Almighty God) your doors” Gyani Ji maintains the same tone up to the end . He not only accepts the meanings given by Bhai Veer Singh and Professor Sahib Singh, but also quotes and affirms his own version illustrating it with many other lines: so much so that he challenges the interpretation of Dr. Rattan Singh Jaggi who disapproves of the interpretation given by Professor Sahib Singh and says : “Dr. Jaggi’s view that these lines clearly and certainly referred to Baba Mohan cut no ice⁹⁵” . But when he sees the story of the *Pothees* ‘ being procured from Baba Mohan being repeated again and again in the Sikh history, he feels as if he had been disarmed. He writes : “Well, the anecdote regarding bringing of *Pothees* of Gurbani which is considered uncontradictable in Sikh history surely relates to Baba Mohan Ji. In this respect the writer does not agree to the view expressed by Professor Sahib Singh ⁹⁶ . He writes under the title ‘Saaransh te sidhaant ‘that “this chhant is addressed to the Almighty who enchants the whole world and not Baba Mohan Ji. So far as the story of bringing the *Pothees* of Gurbani from Baba Mohan Ji is concerned it will be an injustice to Sikh history if we challenge it⁹⁷. The direction in which Gyani Ji’s sense of meaning takes him seems to be negating by his study of Sikh history. But neither he is prepared to contradict the meanings ; nor does he gather courage to challenge the history . It is evident that the anecdote regarding Baba Mohan Ji is to blame for his mental crisis . if that story had not been in the mind of Gyani ji he would have been free from crisis and would have toed the line of Professor Sahib Singh and Bhai Veer Singh.

I am trying to cast a comprehensive glance on the sum and substance of interpretation of this chhant of Guru Arjan Dev by the

entire Sikh scholarship because the story of accepting the *Pothee* as the foundation of Sree Guru Granth Sahib is directly and deeply connected with this chhant. If Baba Mohan Ji has been praised in this hymn, all our conclusions regarding the mutual relationship of *Pothee* and Sree Guru Granth Sahib derived so far prove to be completely unfounded. But if this hymn is not related to Baba Mohan Ji it is proved that the heaven (Almighty) has been given the meaning of the earth (Baba Mohan Ji) and the attempt made by the Bhalla princes to give a higher place to the *Pothee* than to Guru Arjan Dev Ji's Aad Beed will be a heavy and continued reflection on the interpretation and historicity of the Sikh scholars.

In the light of the conclusions churned out by me relating to the *Pothee* there is obvious need to review the meaning of this chhant of Guru Arjan Dev which has been given by professor Sahib Singh Ji and Bhai Veer Singh Ji but it will be relevant to consider the chhants preceding and following it in Sree Guru Granth Sahib before we look into this chhant.

This hymn is second in a sequence of the 4 chhants by Guru Arjan Dev in raag Gaudi. This sequence of chhants, concluding with the 4th chhant of the 5th Guru has commenced with two chhants of the first Guru. They are followed by 5 chhants of the 3rd Guru and next by 4 chhants by Guru Arjan Dev. In the 1st chhant Guru Nanak Dev Ji has presented the state of being separated from the God Almighty and reuniting with him through the grace of the Guru, through the simple native and traditional image of a wife separated from her husband. In the Second Chhant Also the image of a married woman has again been used for the fulfilment of the desired motive and that motive is "Nanak naam maharas

meetha guri poor sachu paaya “. The chhant of the 3rd Guru Sahib also commences with saadhan [=the wife : the soul wife] and this very image has been used for the grace of the Guru and the love of Almighty. The second Chhant gives the recipe of becoming an eternal wife : Sadhan sohaagani sada rangi raati saache naami pyare ‘ In the third chant the Almighty has been called ‘Mohan’ “Manu Mohani Mohi leeya jeeo dubidha sehaji samaaye”. The words like pir, preetam , ati piaare have been used for the Almighty. In the 4th chant Guru Amar Daas affirms:

Raam naam binu ko thiru naahi jeeo
Baaji hae sansaara.
Dridu bhagti sachi jeeoRaam namu
Vaapaara.

The 5th chhant contains pieces of advice for one's conscience : “Manmukh mugadh gaavaaru pira jeeo sabadu mani na vasaaye”

These chhants are followed by Guru Arjan Dev's 1st chhant: “Merae mani baeraagu bhaya jeeo kio dekha prabh daate” In this chhant the Almighty God has been addressed as ‘Mere meet’ , ‘Sakha’, ‘Bidhaata’. ‘Sreedhar’. ‘Daata’ ‘Kant pyaara’. ‘Naah’ , (Naath), ‘Diyaal’ , ‘Baala’, ‘Pir’ , etc. The yearning and craving of the human contexts through which Guru expresses his longing of love for the bodiless are worthy of special notice “My mind is yearning; both my mind and body have been charmed to see your antics. Without meeting you I am submerged in despondency. When I meet you, I hear the spiritual sounds and I get ready to go to the bed of the beloved/”

It is followed by the 2nd chhant which is a subject of our curiosity. Its tone is different from that of all the previous chhants though its

motive is quite the same. Its matter is neither that of separated restless woman who is craving and writhing to meet; nor is it that of the united woman who feels charmed and gratified by the meeting. It does not inspire her to run towards the Almighty freeing herself from the shackles of the visible world: on the other hand it is in the mood of praise, adoration and entreaty and like the other chhants uses the image of Mohan for the bodiless Almighty. The image has been enlivened with the use of material details; because if the ordinary reader takes Mohan as indicative of some person with human traits, instead of God Almighty this error can be accounted for, this way. Some such lines have been extracted and later we shall extract some more. First of all we examine those lines of this hymn which cannot be applied to a person named Mohan and which certainly have been written addressing a bodiless Almighty For example:

When the congregation of Saints
Gathers it remembers you;

O Almighty master show pity;
And be merciful to the poor;

O Mohan, the true congregation remembers
you and longs for your glimpse;

O Mohan, the angel of death does
 not come near the person who adores you;
 The person who remembers you with a
 single-track mind is free from the angel of death;
 The person who adores you through his
 mind, words and actions attains all motives;
 The people who are enchanted by urination and
 defecation become knowledgeable by seeing you;
 Nanak prays that only the perfect master
 Almighty can bring about an equanimus state

You possess numberless qualities which
 Cannot be described O my Almighty beloved;
 Nanak the petitioner depends upon you to
 Cross the Ocean of the material world

The above lines can so easily be applied to the God Almighty
 that they do not need any explanation but the lines which seem to
 create an illusion of a corporeal Mohan should also be examined;

1. O Mohan great is your abode and unusual are your palaces ;
2. O Mohan your words are matchless and unusual is your gait;
3. O Mohan you admit only one and all others are impure;
4. O Mohan you have flourished along with your family ;
5. O Mohan you have liberated all including your son, friend,
 brother and other members of the family.

In the entire chhant I have come across only these lines which the people find a difficulty in applying to the Almighty and find it easier to apply to some person. Out of these the real difficulty comes in the interpretation of the 4th and 5th lines. The sensible interpreters have easily settled the 1st 3 lines because the high place of the Almighty, His beautiful gait and sweet words are found mentioned in the bani of Guru Nanak Dev Ji himself.

“Thy place is high and pleasant,” is the saying of Guru Nanak Dev ji, in respect of God’s place (Sree raag; page 18), of which abode and palace are only synonyms (page 566). A chhant in raag Wadhans is an excellent illustration of the humanization of the bodyless God. This should clarify as to what literary devices Guru Arjan Dev Ji was permitted to use to express the spiritual subjects by heritage. For a specimen some lines of this chhant are being given hereunder. Not to speak of the gait and the speech of the Almighty this hymn gives the description of the beauty of His eyes, nose and teeth. God be thanked that so far nobody has found a Baba Mohan true to the description of this chhant; otherwise the interpreters would not have hesitated to invent a story. Examine the lines.

Nanak the petitioner says that all
 Doubts can be removed through reflection;
 The person of the great master is
 Inconceivable and unusual || 6 || ;
 Your eyes are charming and your
 Teeth are attractive;
 You have a pretty nose and long hair;
 You have a golden body moulded in gold;

Your eyes are charming and your teeth

Are attractive || 7 ||

Pleasant is your gait and intoxicating

Is your speech ;

You speak as sweetly as a Cuckoo and your

Youth is elastic;

It is coloured in spirituality and flows

Like the water of the Ganges;

Nanak the petitioner is the servant

Of the Almighty whose gait is pleasant

And whose speech is intoxicating

|| 8 || 2 || (Page 567).

It is hoped that after reading the text of this hymn there will be no ambiguity about the meanings of the 1st two lines of the 2nd chhant of Sree Guru Arjan Dev.

In the 3rd line if “too’ is interpreted as you it will yield its meaning. “You” admit of only one Almighty and these are the meanings which mislead. Professor Sahib Singh has proved with illustrations from Gurbani that in the idiom of Gurbani many a time ‘you’ is used in the sense of ‘to you’. For example :

Jini toon saaji savaaria (Sree raag, 5th Guru, Page 51)..

Jini toon sevia bhaao kari (Sree raag 5th Guru, Page 52);

Gurmati toon saalaahana (Sree raag, 1st Guru Page 61) :

Jini toon jaata (Maajh, 5th Guru Page 100) ;

Tisu kurbani Jini toon sunia

(Maajih, 5th Guru Page 102)

Gur parsadi toon paavnia (Maajh,

5th Guru Page 130) :

Jini toon saji savaari seegaaria

(Sukhmani, 5th Guru, page 266)⁹⁸

If here Professor Sahib had written that because according to the grammar of Gurbani 'maaneh' is plural, therefore, the right meaning will be "we confess you as " and not you confess. This would have put an end to the controversy.

In the light of the extracted illustrations I feel that God as the meaning of the above 3 lines is grammatically relevant and according to the context. Only two lines i.e. the 4th and the 5th remain unexplained. So for as the meanings of these lines in the sense of God are concerned the writer of these lines salutes the scholarship of both the scholars Prof. Sahib Singh Ji and Bhai Veer Singh Ji who have given these meanings. : Let us, however, examine the meanings given by these scholars.

1] Professor Sahib Singh.

Line : O Mohan . I toon suphalu phalia sanu parivaare.

Meaning: O Mohan God Almighty! You have prospered well; you are with a big family.

Line : Mohan putra meet Bhai kutanb sabhi tare.

Meaning : O Mohan God Almighty ! You have brought salvation to your entire family including sons, brothers and friends across the ocean of existence.

2] Bhai Veer Singh.

Line: Mohan toon saphalu phalia sanu parvaare.

Meanings: O God the enchanter (Beautiful God Almighty) you are fructifying with beautiful fruits along with your family (the meaning of the next two lines will seem to have been done together)

Line : Mohan putra meet Bhai kutanb tare.

Taariya jahaanu lahia abhimaanu jinni darsanu paaya.

Meanings; O Mohan whosoever has seen you. You have liberated the entire world. You have taken across the ocean, their whole family including sons, friends and brothers, by removing their pride.

If I had to explain the meanings of these lines to myself I would have made me understand like this:

O Mohani! These creatures which are beyond any count, are your own family.

They are shackled in their own worldly, familial and social relationships. You have liberated them all from the ocean of existence, considering them to be your own children⁹⁹.

Considering the above background and the main tone of the chhant as interpreted by two great scholars, the conclusion derived will be that “Mohan tere oochhe mandar’ composed by Guru Arjan Dev Ji is a hymn of adoration to Almighty; and it does not refer to any worldly human being. The chhants prior to it confirm this conclusion. As we shall see presently the ensuing chhants also revolve around this axis. The third chhant deserves a special attention from the viewpoint of many aspects because many a line of the second chhant has so much common with the 3rd chhant that both these chhants must have originated near each other. The interesting thing is that the word

Mohan is included in many words of this chhant indicative of God Almighty.

Praan man than jeea data beant agam apparo
Sarni jogu samrathu Mohanu sarab dekh bidaaro.

Here, the word Mohan has been interpreted only in one way i. e. the enchanting Almighty. If we compare the thoughts and words of the second chhhant it seems that the subject matter of both was similar in the mind of the composer :

Second Chhant

Third chhant.

- | | |
|--|---|
| i) Kari daya maya diyaal
sooaami.... | 1) Karahu kirpa Gopal....;
Sabh te ooch diyaala daana
daya dhare..... |
| ii) Binvanti Nanak | 2) Binvanti Nanak |
| iii) Aapi sabh kal dhaariya... | 3) Sarab kala jinni dhaanee;
samrath sabh kal dhaaree |
| iv) Deen kripaara. | 4) Deen daeaala |
| v) Suphalu phalia. | 5) Saphal seva. |
| vi) Mohan jamu nedi na
Aavae tudhu japeh
Nidaana Jini tudh | 6) Jam panth bikhda
nimakh simrat saadhiyae, |
| No dhannu kahia tin
Jam nedi na aaya. | |
| vii) Beant gun tere
Kathe na jaahi....
Muraare. | 7) Dhiaaye mana murrari. |

viii) Satigur purakh.

8) Bhagti vachhal purakh.

The subject of the next and last chhant also is spiritual ; in it also the God Almighty has been adored.

If the matter was to be prolonged, by finding the samples of the devices used by Guru Arjan Dev Ji in combining words, image- making fulfilling the needs of the meter, description of persons and events and giving concrete form to the abstract in his entire bani and applying these to the 2nd chhant, it can be proved that the addressee of “ Mohan tere oochhe mandar “ is the God Almighty and not Baba Mohan Ji. In the light of what has been said above I have not felt the need of the long task of delving through the entire bani of Guru Arjan Dev Ji.

XIX

The Alphabet of the *Pothee*.

In the Pothee from Ahuyapur various forms of the same letter in different hands are available. Its one reason is that the whole of the Pothee has not been written in the same hand. Even though the writers may be belonging to the one and the same branch every writer's style of writing is different in one respect or the other from other writers. The second reason which makes a difference is the distance of time. Both these causes apply to the Pothee. Therefore, it is a valuable document as a source of the initial stage of Gurmukhi. Some compositions are related to the lande style of writing. We consider the handwriting of the writer who initially wrote raag Soohi to be the oldest specimen of writing in Gurmukhi. The difficulty which the present-day students feel in reading the text of the *Pothee* is the different form and size of letters and vowel-signs from those of the present day Gurmukhi. This difference is natural. As the structure of the letters and vowel- signs of

the Gurmukhi of the *Pothee* has evolved from the letters and vowel-signs of earlier times, in the same way the symbols of the letters and vowel-signs of the *Pothee* have ended up into the present day Gurmukhi. If the printing press had not been invented, up till now so many other changes would have taken place. In the ensuing table it has been attempted to present the oldest specimens. Where we have not been able to find the specimen of old letters or vowel signs we have taken the help of later entries. We have not felt the need of giving the samples of many hand-writings; the text of the *Pothee* can be easily deciphered with the help of the key of the table.

XXXXXXX

The above tables make it clear that:

- 1) The script of the *Pothee* had an equal number of letters i.e. 35 to that of the Gurmukhi script and their sounds also were the same as those of the Gurmukhi letters.
- 2) As in the present day Gurmukhi, the symbols of (T) and (J) in the *Pothee* also are

Soundless. They will give some sound if some vowel-sign is attached to them; otherwise they will remain mute. This characteristic is also one of the special traits of the Gurmukhi script.

- 3) As in the present day Gurmukhi, the Gurmukhi of *Pothee* also uses its consonants as those having the small 'a' and also as those not having the samall 'a' as per the need. To show the lack of the vowel sound they avoided changing the form of their consonants, We can find the joint form of 'r' only as in praan (page 2a/6) or in Tribhavani (page 13a/8-9 and 10).
- 4) To express the joint sound the present day Gurmukhi does not break the vowel- less letter but it does break the letter with a vowel which joins it. For example instead of breaking 'p' in

praan which loses its sound with 'a' after being joined, 'r' has been used and it is also a special trait of Gurmukhi in respect of using the letter.

- 5) In order to express the joint form of same consonant the *Pothee* neither breaks letters nor uses the symbol addack [Z]. The reader's good sense is relied upon for correct pronunciation.
- 6) It was customary to write continuously, without separating words from one another. The writer of the *Pothee* writes separate letters at some places for the sake of clarity but this habit of his cannot be called the separation of words.
- 7) As can be seen from the above tables the letters of the *Pothee* which have been subjected to more or less evolution are A[n], I [J], H [j] gh(x) ch [u] chh [S], gh [M] [Anj ta], th, [m], Aa [D] and L [b], the remaining letters are almost the same as in the present day Gurmukhi,
- 8) As yet, the signs of comma [,], semicolon [;], exclamation [!], mark of interrogation [?], hyphen [-], and Daash [____] had not come into use.
- 9) Only full stop was indicated by putting two vertical lines [||] and half stop was indicated by one vertical line [I]. In the present day Gurmukhi one vertical line instead of two vertical lines serves the purpose of a full stop. This symbol has not been used anywhere in the *Pothee*.
- 10] None of the writers who have left their impact on the *Pothee* has erred in writing a letter of Gurmukhi except that they have written the R and the [C] in the same way. Whenever some writer erred in putting a full headline on pappā [P] and mamm [M], he at once tried to negate it by drawing a symbol like the wings of flying bird which was his own invention. This action of the writer clearly shows that if

there were a line on pappā and mamma they respectively gave sound of dhaadha (dh) and sassa(s) and that therefore the correction was imperative, But if somebody were not not satisfied with this explanation it could be said for his gratification that the writer also knew the script in which the pappā and mamma were covered with lines. But this does not disprove my view that when the *Pothee* was being written, Gurumukhi had had its independent existence as a script for a long time and had established itself with all its distinct traits.

We can have only a rough assessment of the age of the *Pothee* from its writing, we cannot make definite opinion like a mechanical decision. There was a time when my mind soared to the 1st half of the 17th century, as soon as I saw the symbols of aeda [n] eedi [J] , hahja [j] , ghagga [x] , chacha [u] , etc. resembling their form in the *Pothee*. But experience has taught me that in the initial stage of Gurmukhi the letter had different forms according to the various centers, which came down through the chain of the teacher-pupil and continued till the style of some other more forceful center became popular and dominated the other styles. In

In this way one should not be surprised if the specimens of the present day style are available during the next 20, 25 or 50 years inspite of the supremacy and the entry of some other style. That is why only on the basis of the writing it is not possible to determine the date of any dateless manuscript of Gurmukhi with certainty, unless a comparative table of the dated manuscripts of various centres is prepared (which has not so far been prepared) or unless we get some supplementary proofs from some other side. Still by seeing

the forms of the letters in the *Pothee* we can know at the very first glance that these letters are sufficiently older than the present day Gurmukhi and by seeing their form we can make a rough estimate that the job of entering raag soohi in it would have been done some time between the last two decades of the 16th century and the second decade of the 17th century.

Guided by Baba Prem Singh had written in my article “Origin and development of the Gurmukhi script”/ Gurmukhi [1960] that “ the beginning of these *Pothees* was made in Sammat 1622 or the year 1565 A.D. as per ‘Saakhian Guru Amar Daas¹⁰⁴, Baba Ji had promised to show me this book but the promise could not be fulfilled during his life time. Later, the search by his able son Baba Manmohan Singh also did not succeed in finding this manuscript. Therefore, I want to withhold the trust shown by me in this reference book and the date given therein till that manuscript becomes available. I wish that no writer should base any of his principles on the information given in the article.¹⁰⁵

XX

Age of the *Pothee*.

As we have come to know from the investigation of the page with the sammat, neither I have considered trust worthy the date of its birth (Sammat 1652 Maagh vadi nor has Shri K,S, Puri, a specialist in detecting the interpolation in the manuscripts (His opinion can be seen under the second question in the second addendum.) But with proving fake of this sammat, the usefiness of sammat in determining the age of the *Pothee* does not end. The reason is that

whosoever has inserted this date atop the important page containing the blessing and the curse could not have done so big a forgery for nothing ; he must have had some motive before him, which he wanted to fulfil. What was this purpose, which he wanted to fulfil? What was this purpose? What did he want to prove through this date” It is good that the theft of the thief has been caught but why did he simply conceive this idea ? Why did he feel at all the need for this forgery ?

He must have felt this need to get rid of his mental tension which he may have felt in order to maintain or rehabilitate the prestige of the *Pothee*. This *Pothee* was in the possession of Bhalla princes. The prestige of the Bhalla princes was related to the prestige of the *Pothee*. The prestige of the *Pothee* must be waning on account of the greater acceptability of some other *Pothee*. From Guru Amar Daas Ji onward to the expiry of Guru Arjan Dev, only one *Pothee* with these qualities and characteristics had come into existence and that *Pothee* was the Aad Beed of the 5th Guru. As soon as this Aad Beed had been prepared, it had beaten all the current compilations. The *Pothee* of the Bhalla princes could not escape the anger of the complete Victory by the Aad Beed. Therefore, it was quite natural for these princes to have mental tension. Without presuming such a mental tension it is perhaps impossible to account for the predilection of the person who interpolated. Only one way of escaping the mental tension was conceived that this *Pothee* should be proved to be a predecessor of the Aad Beed and that its compiler be proved to have lived prior to Sree Guru Arjan Dev Ji. This lent a greater acceptability and prestige to the *Pothee*. Exactly, it was what was done by the self-willed interpolator. From this, one assessment

becomes suddenly obvious that to prove the agedness of the *Pothee* the interpolator must put some date prior to his life time. Therefore, it can be easily Therefore, it can be easily interpolator, whosoever he was, existed after this date, If this argument of mine applies to him he could have certainly been caught red-handed while interpolating during the guruship of Guru Hargobind Ji. The time of the Guruship of Guru Hargobind Ji was from the year 1606 A.D. to 1644 A.D. It needs to be clarified, that this assessment of mine marks the time of the *Pothee's* writing. This only indicates that when the interpolation was made the *Pothee* already existed.

The question before us is as to when the compilation of the *Pothee* took place. Just as one sammat is given inside the *Pothee*, some other sammats are mentioned outside it. Among these particularly noticeable are the sammats given by Baba Prem Singh Ji Hoti and Bhai Kaahan Singh Ji Nabha. It has already been mentioned that Baba Prem Singh had told the writer of these lines during the fifties that the year of the compilation of the *Pothees* has been mentioned as sammat 1622 or year 1565 A.D. in 'Saakhian Guru Amar Daas Bhalle Kiyar'. This sammat is 30 years older than the one given in the *Pothee*, At that time I had not insisted on seeing the manuscript of the saakheeya personally ; I had accepted the statement of Baba Ji as enough. Now that manuscript is not available and therefore, I cannot vouchsafe its truth. Baba Ji himself has given a piece of information on page 5 of his note book in respect of the *Pothees* from Ahiyapur and Pinjore which is as under :

“Considering the age, the *Pothee* is a second writing after the janam saakhee of Sat Guru Nanak

Dev Ji in Gurmukhi script. The time of its writing is some time between the month of Assoo, in sammat 1627 (1570 A.D.) and the 10th of Bhaado in sammat 1629. During these two years when the most of the bani was entered one day Sat Guru Amar Daass Ji organized a yagya and expressed a great delight about Baba Sahansar Ram Ji. He granted a boon that wielders of pen will continue to be produced among his descendants. He has done these great deeds for the salvation of the beings of Kaljug [Saakhiyan Guru Bans Kiyan; page 65], Unfortunately, the manuscript of Saakhiyan Guru Bans Kiyan, also is missing from the collections of Baba ji, as has already been stated. When were the above manuscripts giving definite information about the sammats written? Who has written them and what were the bases of the information given therein?--- The information given therein can be accepted only after getting satisfactory answers to these questions. The thing to be remembered here is that both the years i.e. 1565 and 1572 A.D. mentioned in Baba ji's manuscripts occur during the life time of Guru Amar Daass Ji; whereas the internal evidence of the *Pothee* hints that the *Pothee* had been written after his death. Therefore, for the present, I want to ignore the information provided by Baba Ji.

Bhai Kahan Singh is the second scholar who has given a definite date on page 746 of his Gurshabad Ratnaakar Mahan Kosh. He has written; "Baba Mohan, the elder son of Guru Amar Daas Ji who was born in Sammat 1593. From this noble soul Guru Arjan Dev Ji had brought the *Pothees* of Gurbani in Sammat 1660".

From where did Bhai Sahib get this date? He has written nothing about it because he admitted as

correct the entire alleged anecdote of Guru Arjan Dev Ji's bringing *Pothees* from Baba Mohan Ji. Therefore, it was not difficult for Bhai Sahib to remove the time gap between the preparation of the Aad Beed by Guru Arjan Dev Ji and earlier his snatching time out of his busy life for going on expedition to Goindwal to acquire the *Pothees* and come back to Amritsar. Now when the entire anecdote of *Pothees*' being brought by Guru Arjan Dev Ji is proving to be completely unfounded the date of bringing the *Pothees* as given by Bhai Sahib becomes automatically baseless. If Bhai Sahib had been living he would have known that Bhai Santokh Singh and the Sikh historians preceding him had given currency to an anecdote which has been proved baseless. It is quite possible that he would have reviewed the dates given by him.

In such a situation there is only one alternative that the decisive material from inside the *Pothee* should be brought together and some conclusion be attempted. Some of the estimates about the time which I have made in various parts of this introduction can afford a review.

1] The page with the Sammat.

According to the fake Sammat (1652 = 1595 A.D.), Guru Amar Daass Ji had expired (In 1574 A.D.) ; Guru Ram Daass Ji also had breathed his last in 1581 A.D. but on this page the 1st three Gurus give their blessings while there is no mention of the 4th Guru.

2] Letter of Petition in the *Pothee*.

Guru Amar Daas Ji had expired and because the death of the 3rd Guru had taken place in 1574 A.D., the *Pothee* had not, therefore, come into existence by that time.

3] The hymns by the 4th and the 5th Gurus.

This hymn is the writing of Guru Ram Daass Ji which the writer of the *Pothee* has preserved as the writing of Guru Amar Daass Ji.

4] The script of the *Pothee*.

The job of entering raag Soohi in this *Pothee* would have started some time between the starting of the last two decades of the 16th century and the second decade of the 17th century.

I have not derived these conclusions in any self-willed manner. Nor have I used any force in order to prove or confirm a view already conceived. These are the conclusions which automatically emerge from the *Pothee*. According to these, at least two dates are freely defined.

First: This *Pothee* is not the creation of time before the death of Guru Amar Daass Ji i.e. the year 1575 A.D.

Second: It had been written before the second decade of the 17th century i.e. 1610-1620.

There is another mile stone inside this dual demarcation of the boundaries and that is a hymn by Guru Ram Daas Ji [Mere Saaha mae hari darsani sukhu hoye; page 136b]. The time of Guru Ram Daas Ji's Guruship was from 1574 to 1581 A.D. Therefore, the *Pothee* was prepared between these 7 years or afterwards, This hymn of Guru Ram Daas Ji is not of the type written by Gulaam/Sada sewak bearing nom-de-plume Naanik; nor is it an interpolation. This is a standard hymn using nom-de-plume Nanak, The time taken by this hymn in

reaching the Bhalla princes in the guise of the bani of Guru Amar Daas ji through the bands of singers or Sikh servers must have been so much as was sufficient to efface all identificative marks of the authorship of Guru Ram Daas from it. If the duration of this process be considered enough upto the last days of the life-time of Guru Ram Daas Ji, we reach the precincts of the year 1581 A.D. This way the time of the compilation of the *Pothee* is reduced to the period between 1581 to 1620 A.D.

At present I do not possess the proofs which are required to come nearer the writing of the *Pothee*. If nothing else, at least logical assessment can be made but I have not been able to find any such material from outside or inside the *Pothee* as is required to be the basic matter for this job. Therefore, I have not been able to squeeze this gap of time in the matter of the age of the *Pothee*. If the preparation of Guru Granth Sahib could be proved from *Pothee* or vice versa, some way of bridging this gap could be found out. But by comparing the *Pothee* and Sree Guru Granth Sahib from many points of view we have arrived at the conclusion that these two compilations are independent of each other. Each has neither taken anything from nor given anything to the other. Whatever the two have taken, they have taken from their heritage and environment. But the idea of compiling the Gurbani in form of a *Pothee* had been there in the minds of Guru Sahiban since the time of Guru Nanak Dev Ji. The steps taken by the congregation also in this direction were considered auspicious [Bhai GurDaas]. Therefore, it can be said that the concept of compilation was common between the compilers of the *Pothee* and Sree Guru Granth Sahib Not only

this; both the parties were conscious of the significance of the compilation of Gurbani for Sikh congregations. But the question we are faced with is: which party out of the two began to give this concept a practical shape earlier? In reply to this question, I am academically obliged not to point at either of the compilations. The reason is that we are not in the know of the date of the compilation of the *Pothee*, the way we know the date of the preparation or the compilation by Guru Arjan Dev Ji. Therefore, it is not easy to say which of the compilers started the work earlier. In this connection a scholar-friend of mine had expressed the view during a conversation that:

“In the Punjab, the beginning of compiling the bani had been made by Sree Guru Arjan Dev Ji with his Aad Beed. This Aad Beed which Guru Arjan Dev Ji had prepared or got prepared in the year 1601 A.D. or 1604 A.D. was the motivation force and inspiration behind all the available compilations, may they be the *Pothees* from Goindwal, Beed of Bhai Banno or Bhai Paenda Ji, compilations of the Meenas [including the books prepared by Hariya Ji or Bhai Darbaari Ji] or the beed no. 1245 in the library of Guru Nanak Dev University. My subject is history and before seeing the manuscript of the *Pothee* from Ahiyapur, I too, under the influence of tradition, considered the *Pothees* from Goindwal to have been written prior to the compilation by Guru Arjan Dev Ji. But your proofs have changed my views. Now I have started considering the Aad Beed by Guru Arjan Dev Ji to be the first complete compilation of Gurbani.”

I feel like agreeing to the views of my scholarly friend. But so far I have not been able to have access to the Aad Beed due to which the job of fixing the chronological sequence of

the two compilations by comparing the form of aeda, eedi, haha, ghagga, chacha, chhachha, jhaja, ajanja, thatha, anaana, lalla etc., used by the the two compilations has not gone beyond the level of conception. Nor have I come by any new proof to bridge the time gap between 1581 and 1620. The maximum I can do is that instead of the end of the second decade of the 17th century I should admit, as the last time limit, the beginning of that decade. But even after doing that there is an unbridged time gap of 29 years from 1581 to 1610. The *Pothee* was written some time in this period.

By fixing the time of writing of the original manuscript of the *Pothee* between 1581 and 1610 we negate both the dates given by Baba Prem Singh Hoti who fixed them as 1545 A.D. and 1572 A.D. But the fake Sammat 1625/1595 A.D. occurs in this period.

Has the interpolator not given the correct Sammat?

XXI

The significance of the *Pothee*.

All the aspects of the *Pothee* and Guru Granth Sahib which have been compared and studied in the last pages force the conclusion on us that Sree Guru Granth Sahib and the *Pothee* were independent compilations. Therefore it can said with certainty that the *Pothee* has made no contribution to the preparation of the Aad Beed. It is hoped that, in the light of such self-evident proofs, the din that the *Pothee* is the source of the Aad Beed will come to an end. The end of this din, however, should not imply the end of the independent

significance of the *Pothee*. Not at all; because in its own way the *Pothee* is a very valuable and respectable manuscript which is capable, alongwith other contemporary literature, of throwing light on many problems of Sikh literature, Punjabi literature and medieval Indian literature. What was the attitude of the initial Sikh movement towards the comprehensive Bhagti movement of that time? What contribution did the original Sikh literature make in giving a new direction to the expansion and evolution of Bhagti culture in the Punjab? How was the inter-state, inter-language and inter-cultural good-will increased by the preservation of the writings of the Indian Bhagat-Poets of middle ages? Is there any relationship between respectfully embracing the backward class literature and flourishing of the Sikh movement or not? In addition to providing material in connection with such big issues, it also throws a helpful light on small or big subjects nearer at home. For example, what was the role of the writers or reciters in defining the written form of Bani, particularly the Bhagat bani? The parties looking forward to attaining the seat of Guruship considered their capacity to compose bani to be a factor in favour of them for that attainment, This also can be a reason for the production of the unauthentic bani. Has the *Pothee* preserved proofs of the above situation? Anybody, who is prepared to work on problems, besides the above, the efforts to standardize the spellings, the tendency towards the style of writing separate words from that of combining words with one another, the tradition of making use of the vowel signs as grammatical formations, the problem of interpolation, the relationship between the Guru literature and soofi literature, dovetailing poetry and music, emergence of the new religious

language and new religious culture in the medieval Punjab etc. will have to take resort to this *Pothee*.

About five centuries and a quarter before today, Guru Nanak had succeeded in giving a new qualitative direction to contemporary religion, philosophy, individual, social ethics and social conduct. The biggest reformatory weapon with him was his bani, He was fully aware of the power of the bani and therefore he wanted to propagate it towards every nook and corner. The names of some of his writers also have reached us¹⁰⁶. The Script which he adopted to write his own bani and other meditational verse is known as Gurmukhi today. Guru Nanak Dev Ji himself could write [the work of an accountant [Modi] could not be done without capacity to read and write]. His devoted writers also used to write]. Still it is an irony of fate that none of his own writings or that of any of his dear and near ones has reached us. Not only this; no hand-written document of Guru Angad Dev Ji and Guru Amar Daas Ji has escaped the ravages of time. If we consider the matter against this background we at once realize the great significance of the *Pothee* which one of the documents of the 1st half of the era of the Gurus, escaping fatal aggression of time, in order to appreciate the initial stages of the Gurmukhi script which Guru Nanak Dev Ji had made the medium of his bani. The full weight of this significance can be realized only when we understand the vacuum presuming that there was no *Pothee*.

The Gurmukhi script represents that definite cultural turn in the thought and conduct of Punjab where it turned its back on the out dated values of its heritage and adopted the new healthy values with a conscious attitude and in an organized manner. This *Pothee* bears witness to the occasion of this

historical union of turning the back on and adoption of values ; because, as in Sree Guru Granth Sahib, the *Pothee* also shows the collection of the bani of the Gurus and that of Bhagat-poets together at one place. The creation of a different *Pothee* almost near the time of compilation of Sree Guru Granth Sahib proves that consciousness which had started in the thought and conduct of the people from the time of Guru Nanak Dev Ji had started spreading fast on all sides; otherwise who could spare the time and expense to preserve this bani and why?

The *Pothee* confirms the fact that with the movement of Guru Nanak Dev Ji a fresh breeze was blowing not only in the field of religion and philosophy, but many other aspects of life had been revived. This way this movement was proving to dominate the entire activity of the Punjabi life. The proofs of development in the fields of paper industry, or preparing dyes, painting [the initial pages of the *Pothee*], music [hints available in the *Pothee* on the distribution of the raags and musicology], poetry, prosody, prose-writing the letter of entreaty], good hand–writing and binding are available in the *Pothee* itself.

The bands of singers moved from one province to another and helped in taking the compositions of well-known medieval poets, saturated in the sentiment of meditation to the people far and wide. The Bhagat bani must have entered the Punjab partly through these bands of singers and partly through the collections of verses made by the Gurus during their excursions outside the Punjab. When this process took the form of export instead of import, Guru Nanak Dev Ji's bani entered the collections made by the followers of Daddu in Rajsthan. This exchange of literature, music and thoughts

was a well-known trait of the cultural atmosphere of the middle ages. The speed of this exchange grows faster when the lovers of literature and music get some congenial resorts. Kartarpur, at the time of Guru Nanak Dev Ji and Goindwal at the time of Guru Amar Daas Ji were similar resorts. At Goindwal, writers like Guru Amar Daas, Guru Ram Daas, Guru Arjan Dev, Bhai GurDaas, Baba Mohan and Baba Sahansar Ram and similarly, before moving to Amritsar and staying there, Baba Prithi Chand and Baba Meharbaan were engaged in the work of reading and writing, and singing and listening. Therefore, the scholars of literature, music etc. from far and near began to converge at Goindwal. If the comfortable centre at Goindwal had not provided suitable conditions of the growth of literature, music etc. taking in hand the big projects like that of the *Pothee* was not within the limits of possibility there.

I have already stated that the oldest manuscript of Bhagat bani is lying preserved at the City Palace Library in Jaipur. It is imperative for the native and foreign authorities over Bhagti poetry of Indian medieval era to circumambulate Jaipur on account of this manuscript. Similarly, the discussion of bani preserved in Sree Guru Granth Sahib is steadily gaining momentum. Any academic centre in Europe and America working on the Indian medieval age, that you visit will be found to possess a copy of Sree Guru Granth Sahib though it may be in the form of translation. The writer of these lines is sure that after the publication of this *Pothee*, any student of Bhagti (-) ras will find it almost necessary to acquaint himself with it; because like Guru Granth Sahib, the *Pothee* also is older than the numberless manuscripts available in various provinces.

In fact any manuscript so old, so clearly written , so voluminous and so detailed as this *Pothee* is basically rare.

I believe that the *Pothee* under consideration is alone capable of showing how with the inception of the Guru era in Punjab, literary centres were coming into being at all places and the groups of writers, authors and musicians were flourishing in every town and at every spot.

The *Pothee* which has its own great significance should not be looked at with the eyes of those Sikh historians who had not themselves seen the *Pothees*, wrapped in kerchiefs but described them as the source of the Aad Beed. This way these scholars opened the way of defaming the *Pothee* rather than increasing its prestige ; because when the reality comes out, the people's respect at once changes into hatred and nobody considers its merit in this process of change and reaction. Therefore, the sensible and wise thing would be to allow the *Pothee* to remain at its respectable place and not to involve it in the complexity of its being the basic Aad Beed.

I fear that when the reality of the *Pothee* comes before the people, it may fall prey to pity though the *Pothee* itself is hardly to blame for it. I am anxious to preserve it eternally not only because of its innocence, but also because of its inherent qualities and its old age.

It is very fortunate for the Punjabis that this *Pothee* is safe so far. But I fear that decline of faith and lack of proper appreciation of heritage may push this *Pothee* and its sister, the *Pothee* from Pinjore , into the blind alley as has been the destiny of their other sisters from Goindwaal, the *Pothee* of Guru Har Sahai and God knows how many other valuable manuscripts as well. If the current law is capable of doing so,

well and good; otherwise immediate steps should be taken to enact a new law to take these *Pothees* in national possession and protect them. This also applies to the extraordinary beed lying with the Sodhis at Kartarpur. If nothing else can be done, it is required to procure excellent and exact photocopies of these invaluable manuscripts and preserve the negatives carefully, Otherwise conditions are such as seem to lose them for ever.

XXII

CONCLUSION.

All the aspects of the *Pothee* that came to the mind of the writer of these lines for consideration have been attempted for settlement. There are many other aspects also but as I have already submitted the main motive before me has been to find out the quantity of the contribution of the *Pothee* to the preparation of the Aad beed. So, I have thought of only those aspects which can be helpful in the settlement of the above problem in one way or the other. Therefore, for important aspects which have unconsciously escaped the range of my consideration, I beg pardon from my scholarly readers, on the promise that if the the death continues to allow me a new lease of life and I continue to receive suggestions regarding new aspects from my friends, I will try to settle those aspects also with full attention.

When my belief was confirmed from the *Pothee* that the versification by Gulaam/ Sada Sewak with the label of Naanik was as old as the *Pothee* itself, I felt sure that the *Pothee* could not be a contributor to the preparation of the Aad Beed. At that time the above proof alone seemed forceful enough to violate the deep-rooted faith in my Sikh mind that the *Pothee* was a source of the Aad Beed. But now

when I have fully gone through the *Pothee* in the light of Sree Guru Granth Sahib the situation has changed. Now if some professional, specialized detective of interpolations in the old documents rejects my important proof regarding Gulaam/Sada Sewak calling the entries to be later interpolation, my faith in the conclusions derived so far, will not stagger. This is not on account of my illogical obstinacy but because denial of the acceptability of evidence in my favour by the differences of the text, authors, raag-titles etc. between *Pothee* and Sree Guru Granth Sahib can create a moral crisis for any specialist of comparison.

I am conscious that the deep study of the *Pothee* has made me openly reject the universally-accepted presumptions of numberless great historians and scholars. Out of these I am reminded of the whole band of Sarup Daas Bhalla, Bhai Santokh Singh, Bhai Kahan Singh, Bhai Veer Singh, Sardar G.B. Singh, Professor Teja Singh, Baba Prem Singh, Dr. Mohan Singh Deewana, Gyani Gyan Singh and Gyani Gurdit Singh who enjoy astounding prestige and universal acceptance of the entire Panth and who are unanimous in favour of the principle of evolution, from the *Pothee* to the Aad Beed from the Aad Beed to Sree Guru Granth Sahib. In comparison with this very respectable group, I am trying, with the *Pothee* in my hand, to strike a different note. I am saying, “ O you great ocean of scholarship! O you specialists of philosophy and history of the Gurus! O you scholars loving the Panth and blessed by it! Whatever you are saying must be correct verbatim, but kindly do take the trouble of listening, for a moment, to what the *Pothee* itself says. I consider myself fortunate in touching your feet; kindly do not listen, at all, to what I say. But kindly do spare some moments of your valuable time to listen to what the *Pothee* says.”

I have not tried to suppress, deform, twist or amend and misrepresent any fact in order to arrive at the conclusion which I have been able to reach. Nor have I used any force to drag those facts to

give evidence in my favour. Before I started this work I had not at all made up my mind that Sree Guru Granth Sahib should be declared immune to the infections of the *Pothee*. But as my work progressed the *Pothee* went on dragging me forcibly towards the conclusion that “I have an independent existence which is different from the Aad Beed. I may be very humble because I am nothing as compared to Sree Guru Granth Sahib. But we are two different way-farers trudging two different paths. Why are you struggling to defile the sacredness of the Aad Beed as well as trampling my existence?”

After completing my task I can very humbly say that I have not deliberately used a single word to devalue the importance of the *Pothee* or to damage the sacredness and greatness of the Aad Beed. But at the same time I have made every effort to save the wholesomeness of the academic integrity. If I were to use the Sikh idiom to have my say I would state that whatever job I have been able to do has been got done in entirety by the Guru himself and that my name has been given so that I may take the responsibility of all errors and deficiencies of the book.

PART III

XXIII

Addenda

First Addendum: The figures

Indicating the pages.

Note: In the original *Pothee*, neither the figures at the top nor those given in the corners move continuously. Therefore, I have put from my own side new Roman figures below the lower margin of the pages of *Pothee* in the middle of the pages. In the *Pothee*, wherever I have felt the need. I have referred to these new figures and

wherever I have found necessary to refer to old figures I have given a clear indication to that effect.

New Figures	Figures on the Top.	Figures in the Corners.
ob	x	
la	x	x
lb		
2a	x	2
2b		
3a	x	x
3b		
4a	x	x
4b		
5a	12	5
5b		
6a	x	6
6b		
7a	14	7
7b		
8a	15	8
8b		
9a	16	9
9b		
10a	17	10
11a	18	11
12a	x	x

12b		
13a	x	13
13b		
14b	21	14
14b	22	
15a	22	15
15b		
16a	x	16
16b		
17a	25	17
17b		
18a	26	18
18b		
19a	27	19
19b		
20a	28	20
20b		
21a	x	22
21b		
22b		
23a	x	23
23b		
24a	32	24
24b		
25a	`33	25
25b		
25a	43	35
26a	34	26
27a	35	27
27b		

28b		
29a	37	29
29b		
30a	38	30
30b		
31a	39	31
31b		
32a		
32b		
33a	41	33
33b		
34a	x	34
34b		
35b		
36a	44	36
36b		
37b		
38a	x	38
39a	47	39
39b		
40a	x	40
40b		
41a	49	41
41b		
42a	50	42
42b		
43a	51	43
43b		
44a	52	54
44b		

45a	53	45	
45b			
46a	54	46	
46b			
47a	55	47	
47b			
48a	56	48	
48b			
49a		57	49
49b			
50a	x	50	
50b			60b
51a	59	51	
51b			
52a	60	52	
52b			
53a	61	53	
53b			
54a	x	54	
54b			
55a		x	55
56b			
56a		65	56
57b			
57a		65	57
58a		66	58
58b			
59a		x	59
59b			
60a		68	60

61a		x	61
61b			
61a		71	63
62a		x	62
62b			
63b			
64a		72	64
64b			
65a		73	65
65b			
66a	74	66	
66b			
67a	75	67	
67b			
68a	76	68	
68b			
69a	77	69	
69b			
70a	78	70	
70b			
71a	79	71	
71b			
72a	80	72	
72b			
73a	81	73	
73b			
74a	82	74	
74b			
75a	83	75	
75b			

76a	84	76
76b		
77a	x	77
77b		
78a	86	78
78b		
79a	87	79
79b		
80a	x	80
80b		
81a	x	81
81b		
82a	x	x
82b		
83a	90	83
83b		
84a	91	84
85a	x	x
85b		
86a	92	86
86b		
87a	x	87
87b		
88a	94	88
88b		
89a	95	89
89b		
90a	96	90
90b		
91a	97	91

91b		
92a	98	92
92b		
93a	99	93
93b		
94a	x	94
94b		
96a	102	96
96b		
97a	103	97
97b		
98a	x	98
98b		
99a	105	99
99b		
100a	106	100
100b		
101a	107	101
101b		
102a	108	102
102b		
103a	109	103
103b		
104a	x	x
104b		
105a	111	112
105b		
106a	122	106
106b		
107a	112	107

107b		
108a	x	108
108b		
109a	114	109
109b		
110a	115	110
110b		
111a	116	105
111b		
112a	117	111
112b		
113a	118	113
113b		
114a	x	x`
114b		
115a	x	x
115b		
116a	x	x
116b		
117a	x	x
117b		
118a	x	x
119a	x	x
119b		
120a	125	x
120b		
121a	126	121
121b		
122a	127	122
122b		

123a	128	123
123b		
124a	129	124
124b		
125a	130	125
125b		
126a	131	126
126b		
127a	134	127
127b		
128a	133	128
128b		
129a	134	129
129b		
130a	135	130
130b		
131a	136	131
131b		
132a	137	132
132b		
133a	138	133
133b		
134a	139	134
134b		
135a	140	135
135b		
136a	141	136
136b		
137a	142	137
137b		

138 a	143	138
138b		
139a	144	139
139b		
140a	145	140
140b		
141a	146	141
141b		
143a	x	143
144a	x	x
144b		
145a	x	x
145b		
146a	x	146
146b		
147a	x	147
147b		
148a	x	x
148b		
149a	x	x
149b		
150a	x	x
150b		
151a	x	x
151b		
153a	x	x
154	x	x
154b		
155a	x	x
155b		

156a	x	x
156b		
157a	163	157
157b		
158a	164	158
158b		
159a	165	159
159b		
160a	166	160
160b		
161a	167	161
161b		
162a	167	162
163a	168	163
163b		
164a	169	167
164b		
165a	170	165
165b		
166a	x	x
166b		
167a	x	x
167b		
168	x	x
168b		
169a	173	169
169b		
170a	174	170
170b		
171a	175	171

171b		
172b		
173a	177	173
173b		
174a	178	174
174b		
175a	179	175
175b		
176a	180	176
176b		
177a	181	177
177b		
178a	182	178
178b		
179a	x	x
179b		
180a	x	300
180b		
(Seven hymns of raags Tilang, Gujri and Bilawal Have been removed from Here to the end.)		
181a	184	187
181b		
182a	x	x
182b		
182a	x	188
183b		
184a	166	189
184b		

185a	167	190
185b		
186a	x	191
186b		
187a		
187b	x	192
188a	x	193
188b		
189a	x	194
189b		
190a	192	195
190b		
191a	193	196
191b		
192a	194	197
192b		
193a	195	198
193b		
194a	196	199
194b		
195a	197	200
195b		
196a	x	x
196b		
197a	199	202
197b		
198a	200	203
198b		
199a	201	204
199b		

200a	202	205
200b		
201a	x	206
201b		
202a	204	207
202b		
203a	x	208
203b		
204a	x	209
204b		
205a	206	210
205b		
206b		
207a	208	212
207b		
208a	x	x
208b		
209a	210	214
209b		
210a	x	x
210b		
211a	x	x
211b		
212a	x	x
212b		
213a	x	x
213b		
214a	x	x
214b		
215a	x	x

215b		
216b		
217a	218	222
217b		
218a	219	223
218b		
219a	x	224
220a	221	225
220b		
221a	x	226
221a	232	241
221b		
222a	223	227
222a	233	236
222b		
223a	x	228
223b		
224a	225	229
224b		
225a	226	230
225b		
226a	227	231
226b	x	232
227b		
228a	229	233
228b		
229a	230	234
230a	231	235
230b		
231b		

233a	234	237
233b		
234a	235	238
234b		
235a	326	239
235b		
236a	x	240
237a	238	242
237b		
238a	239	243
238b		
239a	240	244
239b		
240a	241	245
240b		
241a	x	x
241b		
242a	x	x
242b		
243a	244	249
243b		
244a	245	249
244b		
245a	246	250
245b		
246a	247	251
246b		
247a	248	252
247b		
248a	249	253

248b		
249a	250	254
249b		
250a	251	255
250b		
251a	252	256
251b		
252a	253	257
252b		
253a	254	258
253b		
254a	255	259
254b		
255a	256	260
255b		
256a	257	261
256b		
257a	258	262
257b		
258a	259	263
258b		
260a	261	265
260b		
261a	262	266
261b		
262a	263	267
262b		
263a	264	268
263b		
264a	265	269

264b		
265a	x	270
265b		
266a	267	271
266b		
267a	268	272
267b		
268a	x	273
269b		
270a	x	x
270b		
271a	x	x
271b		
272a	273	277
272b		
273a	x	278
237b		
274a	275	297
274b		
275a	276	280
275b		
276a	277	281
276b		
277a	278	282
277b		
278a		
278b	279	285
279b	280	283
280a	281	284
280b		

281a	282	286	
281b			
282a	283	287	
282b			
283a	x	288	
283b			
284a	x	289	[Seven pages of raags Tilang, Gujri and Bilawal have been inserted next to this Page]
284b			
285a	285	290	
285b			
286a	x	x	
286b			
287a	286	292	
287b			
288a	287	293	
288b			
289a	301	185	
298b			
290a	x	x	
290b			
291a	x	x	
291b			
292a	x	x	
292b			
293a	x	x	
293b			
[Seven pages of raags Tilang, Gujri and Bilawal have been inserted next to this page]			
294a	x	x	
294b			

295a	x	182
295b		
296a	x	183
296b		
297a	x	184
297b		
299a	x	x
299b		
300a	x	299
300b		

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6	Soohi	5b	Soohi Gharu 6	729
7	Soohi	6a	Soohi	729
8	Soohi	7a	Soohi Gharu 9	751
9	Soohi	9a	Soohi	729
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15	Soohi [Ham ghari	17b	Soohi Gharu 2	767

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16	Soohi [Aavaho Sajana daras]	19a	Soohi Gharu 3	768
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19	Soohi [Avaho Sajan darshanu Dekh ter etu parthaaye Hoye].	25a	Soohi	770
20	Soohi [Avaho sajan darsan dekh ter etu pharthaaye hoye]	29a	Soohi	771
21	Soohi [Avaho sajan darsan dekh ter pharthaaye]	29a	Soohi	772
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23	Soohi	32b	Soohi Gharu 4	765
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25	Wadhas	38a	Wadhansu	765
26	Soohi	39b	Soohi Gharu 10	755
27	Soohi ji guru	44a	Soohi	752

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28	Soohi ji Guru	45a	Soohi	756
29	Soohi	47a	Soohi Gharu 1	753
30	Soohi	49a	Soohi	754
31	Soohi Dakhani	51b	Soohi Gharu 10	751
32	Soohi Dakhani	52b	Soohi	752
33	Soohi	53b		
34	Soohi	54a	x	
35	Soohi	54b	x	
36	Soohi	55a	x	
37	Soohi	55b	x	
38	Soohi	56b	Soohi lalit	794
39	Soohi	57a	Soohi	793
40	Soohi	57b	Soohi	794
41	Soohi	58a	Soohi	793
42	Soohi	58b	Soohi	794
43	Soohi	59a	Soohi	792
44	Soohi	59a	Soohi	792
45	Soohi	59b	Soohi	792
46	Soohi	60a	Soohi	794
47	Soohi	60b	x	
48	Soohi	61a	x	
49	Soohi ji garu	61b	x	
50	Parbhaatee	62b	Parbhaatee Gharu 1	1327
51	Parbhaatee	63b	Parbhaatee	1327
52	Parbhaatee	64a	Parbhaatee	1328
53	Parbhaatee	65a	Parbhaatee	1328
54	Parbhaatee	65b	Parbhaatee	1328
55	Parbhaatee	66a	Parbhaatee	1328
56	Parbhaatee	66b	Parbhaatee	1329

57	Parbhaatee	67b	Parbhaatee	1329
58	Parbhaatee	68a	Parbhaatee	1329
59	Parbhaatee	69a	Parbhaatee	1330
60	Parbhaatee Dakhani	70a		
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61	Parbhaatee Dakhani	70b		
	Parbhaatee	1330		
62	Parbhaatee	71b	Parbhaatee	1331
63	Parbhaatee	72b	Parbhaatee	1331
64	Parbhaatee	73b	Parbhaatee	1331
65	Parbhaatee	74b	Parbhaatee	1332
66	Parbhaatee	75b	Parbhaatee	1332
67	Parbhaatee	76b	Parbhaatee	1332
68	Parbhaatee	77a	Parbhaatee	1333
69	Parbhaatee	78a	Parbhaatee	1333
70	Parbhaatee	79a	Parbhaatee	1333
71	Parbhaatee	79b	Parbhaatee	1334
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73	Parbhaatee Lalat	83a	Soohi Gharu7	730
74	Parbhaatee Dakhani	85b		
	Parbhaatee	1342		
75	Parbhaatee Dakhani	87b		
	Parbhaatee	1342		
76	Parbhaatee	90a	Parbhaatee	1343
77	Parbhaatee	92a	Parbhaatee Dakhani	1344
78	Parbhaatee	93b	Parbhaatee	1344
79	Parbhaatee	95a	Parbhaatee	1345
80	Parbhaatee	96a	Parbhaatee	1345
81	Parbhaatee	97b	Parbhaatee	1334
82	Parbhaatee	98b	Parbhaatee	1346

83	Parbhaatee	100b	Parbhaatee	1346
84	Parbhaatee	102a	x	x
85	Parbhaatee	102b	x	x
86	Parbhaatee	104b	Soohi Lalit	793
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87	Parbhaatee	105b	Parbhaatee	1349
88	Parbhaatee	106a	Parbhaatee	1350
89	Parbhaatee	107a	Parbhaatee	1349
90	Parbhaatee	108a	Parbhaatee	1349
91	Parbhaatee	108b	Parbhaatee	1350
92	Parbhaatee	109b	Parbhaatee	1351
93	Parbhaatee	110a	Parbhaatee	1351
94	Parbhaatee	111a	Parbhaatee	1351
95	Parbhaatee	112a	Parbhaatee	1350
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105	Dhanaasree	126b	Dhanaasree Gharu 4	666
106	Dhanaasree	127b	x	
107	Dhanaasree	128a	Dhanaasree Gharu 1	663
108	Dhanaasree	129a	Dhanaasree	664

109	Dhanaasree	130a	Dhanaasree	664	
110	Dhanaasree	130b	Dhanaasree	664	
111	Dhanaasree	131b	Dhanaasree	665	
112	Dhanaasree	132 b	Dhanaasree	665	
113	Dhanaasree	133a	Dhanaasree	665	
114	Dhanaasree	134a	Dhanaasree	666	
115	Dhanaasree	135a	Dhanaasree	Maala	Aarti
	663				
116	Dhanaasree Pasto	136b	Dhanaasree	670	
	Maroo Gadaao				
117	Dhanaasree	137a	Dhanaasree	678	
118	Dhanaasree	138b	Dhanaasree	687	
119	Dhanaasree	140a	Dhanaasree	688	
120	Dhanaasree	142b	Dhanaasree	689	
121	Dhanaasree	145b	Dhanaasree	685	
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122	Dhanaasree	147a	Dhanaasree	686	
	Dakhani				
123	Dhanaasree	149b	x		
124	Dhanaasree	151b	Dhanaasree	694	
125	Dhanaasree	152a	No information	693	
			about the raag.		
126	Dhanaasree	153b	no information	692	
			about the raag.		
127	Dhanaasree	155a	No information	692	
			about the raag.		
128	Dhanaasree	155b	Dhanaasree	692	
129	Dhanaasree	156a	No information	692	
			about the raag.		
130	No information	156b	No information	694	

	about the raag.		About the raag.	
131	Dhanaasree	157a	No information about the raag.	693
132	Dhanaasree	158a	No information about the raag.	694
133	Dhanaasree	158b	No information about the raag.	694
134	Dhaasari	159b	x	
135	Dhanaasree	160a	x	
136	Dhanaasree	160b	No information about the raag.	695
137	Dhanaasree	161a	Dhanaasree	695
138	Dhanaasree	163a	No Information about the raag.	693
139	Malar	165a	Malaar	1292
140	Basantu	168b	Basantu Gharu	1168
141	Basantu	169b	Basantu	1168
142	Basantu	170b	Basantu	1168
143	Basantu	171b	Basantu Hindol gharu 2	1170
144	Basantu	172a	Basantu Hindol	1171
145	Basantu	173a	Basantu Hindol	1171
146	Basantu	173b	Basantu	1169
147	Basantu	174b	Basantu	1170
148	Basantu	175b	Basantu Gharu 1	1172
149	Basantu	176a	Basantu	1176
150	Basantu	177a	Basantu	1176
151	Basantu	177a	Basantu	1172
152	Basantu	178a	Basantu	1169
153	Basantu	180a	Basantu	1169

154	Basantu	181a	Basantu	1170
155	No title	183a	Basantu Hindol	1171
156	Basantu	183b	Basantu	1176
157	Basantu	184a	Basantu	1176
158	Basantu	185a	Basantu	1176
159	Basantu	185b	Basantu Hindol	1177
			Gharu 2	
160	Basantu	186a	Basantu	1172
161	Basantu	187a	Basantu	1173
162	Basantu	188a	Basantu	1173
163	Basantu	189a	Basantu	1173
164	Basantu	189b	Basantu	1174
165	Basantu	190b	Basantu	1174
166	Basantu	191b	Basantu	1174
167	Basantu	192a	Basantu	1175
168	Basantu	193a	Basantu	1175
169	Basantu	194a	Basantu	1175
170	Basantu	196b	Basantu Hindol	1190
			Gharu 2	
171	Basantu Dakhani	197b	Basantu gharu 1	1187
172	Basantu	199a	Basantu	1187
173	Basantu	200b	Basantu	1189
174	Basantu	201b	Basantu	1188
175	Basantu	203a	Basantu	1190
176	Basantu	203b	Basantu	1190
177	Basantu	204b	Basantu	1189
178	Basantu	206a	x	
179	Basantu	206b	x	
180	Basantu	208b	No information about the raag.	1195

181	Basantu	215b	No information about the raag.	1194
182	Basantu	216b	Basantu Gharu 1	1193
183	Basantu	217a	No information about the raag.	1193
184	Basantu	217b	Basantu Hindol Gharu 2	1195
185	Basantu	218a	Basantu	1195
186	Basantu	218b	No Information	1195
187	Basantu	219a	Basantu	1196
188	Basantu	220a	No information about the raag.	1196
189	Basantu	220b	No information about the raag.	1194
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191	Basantu	222a	No information about the raag.	1194
192	Bhaero	222b	Bhaerau gharu 1	1125
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194	Bhaero	223b	Bhaerau	1128
195	Bhaero	224a	Bhaerau	1128
196	Bhaero	224b	Bhaerau	1128
197	Bhaero	225a	Bhaerau	1128
198	Bhaero Dakhani	226a	Bhaerau Gharu 2	1125
199	Bhaero Dakhani	226b	Bhaerau	1125
200	Bhaero Dakhani	227b	Bhaerau	1126
201	Bhaero Dakhani	228a	Bhaerau	1126
202	Bhaero Dakhani	229a	Bhaerau	1126
203	Bhaero Dkhani	229b	Bhaerau	1127

204	Bhaero Dkhani	230a	Bhaerau	1127
205	Bhaero	231b	Bhaerau	1127
206	Bhaero	232a	Bhaerau	1129
207	Bhaero	232b	Bhaerau	1129
208	Bhaero	233a	Bhaerau	1129
209	Bhaero	233a	Bhaerau	1129
210	Bhaero	234a	Bhaerau Gharu2	1130
211	Bhaero	234b	Bhaeru	1130
212	Bhaero	235b	Bhaerau	1130
213	Bhaero	236a	Bhaerau	1131
214	/ Bhaero	237a	Bhaerau	1131
215	Bhaero	238a	Bhaerau	1131
216	Bhaero	238b	Bhaerau	1132
217	Bhaero	239a	Bhaerau	1132
218	Bhaero	240a	Bhaerau	1132
219	Bhaero	242b	Bhaerau Gharu 2	1153
220	Bhaero	243a	Bhaerau	1155
221	Bhaero	245b	Bharan Gharu 2	1154
222	Bhaero	247b	Bhaerau	1133
223	No title	249a	Bhaerau	1133
224	Bharau	250a	x	
225	Bharau	250a	x	
226	Bhaerau	250b	x	
227	No informatioin about the raag.	252a	No information about the raag.	1158
228	Bhaero	252a	No information about the raag.	1159
229	Bhaero	252b	Bhaerau Gharu 1	1163
230	Bhaero	253a	No information about the raag.	1158

231	Bhaero	253b	No information about the raag.	1163
232	No information about the raag.	254a	No information about the raag.	1159
233	Bhaero	254b	Bhaerau Gharu 2	1164
234	Bhaero	255a	Bhaerau Gharu2	1167
235	Bhaero	255b	Bhaerau Gharu 2	1162
236	Bhaero	257 a	No information about the raag.	1158
237	Bhaero	257b	No informatioin about the raag.	1164
238	Bhaero	258a	No information about the raag.	1165
239	Bhaero	258b	Bhaerau Gharu 1	1157
240	Bhaero	259a	No information about the raag.	1159
241	Bhaerau	260a	No information about the raag.	1159
242	Bhaerau	260b	no information about the raag.	1159
243	Bhaerau	261a	No information about the raag.	1158
244	Bhaerau	261a	No information about the raag.	1158
245	Bhaerau	261b	No information about the raag.	1164
246	Bhaerau	262a	No information about the raag.	1160
247	Bhaerau	262b	No information about the raag.	1160

248	Bhaerau	263b	No information about the raag.	1166
249	Bhaerau	264b	No information about the raag.	345
250	Bhaerau	265a	x	
251	Bhaearu	265b	No information about the raag.	1165
252	Bhaearu	266b	No information about the raag.	1165
253	Bhaerau	267a	No information about the raag.	1164
254	Bharau	267b	No information about the raag.	1160
255	Var Aas Ki	268a	Aasa	462
256	Maaroo	271b	Maaroo Gharu 1	989
257	Maaroo	272a	Maaroo	989
258	Maaroo	272b	Maaroo Gharu 1	990
259	Maaroo	273b	Maaroo	990
260	Maaroo	274a	Maaroo	990
261	Maaroo	274b	Maaroo	991
262	Maaroo	275a	Maaroo	991
263	Maaroo	275b	Maaroo Gharu 1	993
264	Maaroo	276b	Maaroo	993
265	Maaroo	277a	Maaroo	991
266	Maaroo	277b	Maaroo	1106
267	Kedaara	278a	x	
268	Kedaara	278b	No information about the raag.	1104
269	Kedaar	279a	Kedaara	1123

270	Kedaar	279b	Maaroo	1102
271	Kedaar Maaroo	280a	No information about the raag.	1104
272	Maaroo	281a	No information about the raag.	1103
273	Maaroo	281b	Maaroo	1104
274	Maaroo	282a	No information about the raag.	1104
275	Maaroo	282b	No information about the raag.	1123
276	Maroo kedaara	283a	Kedaara	1124
.277	Kadaara	284a	No information about the raag.	1103
278	Kedaara	284b	No information about the raag.	1123
279	Kedaara	285a	x	
280	Kedaara	285b	No information about the raag.	1104
281	Kedaara	287a	No information about the raag.	1123
282	Kedaara	287b	Maaroo	1105
283	Kedaar Mooroo	288a	No information about the raag.	1124
284	Kedaara [The Pothree has only the title and not the hymn].	288b	x	x
285	Tilang	294b	Tilang Gharu 1	721
286	Tilang	295a	Tilang Gharu 2	721
287	Tilang	295a	Tilang Gharu 2	724

288	Tilang	296 a	Tilang
722			
289	Tilang	296 b x	
290	Gajar	298 a	Goojari
526			
291	Balval	299 a	Bilaavalu
795			
292	Gajari	300 a	Goojari
526			
293	Tilang	300 b Tilang	727

5th Adendum : Information about the writer.

Note : (1) The spellings have been retained as in original.

(2) A cross implies that this composition does not exist in Sree Guru Granth Sahib.

1	Guru Bebe di	1b	1 st Guru	728
2	Mahala 3	9a	1 st Guru	729
3.	Mehal 2	10a	1 st Guru	729
4.	Taja Mehal 3	10b	1 st Guru	729
5.	(Chhand) Baabe de	12b	1 st Guru	763
6.	Mahalu 1	15b	1 st Guru	764
7.	Mahal 3	17b	3 rd Guru	767
8.	Mahalu 3	19a	3 rd Guru	768
9.	Mahalu 3	21a	3 rd Guru	769
10.	Mahalu 3	23a	3 rd Guru	769
11.	Mahal 3	25a	3 rd Guru	770
12.	Mahal 3	27a	3 rd Guru	771
13.	Mah 3	29a	3 rd Guru	772

14.	Mahalu 3	39b	3 rd Guru	772
15.	Mahalu 3	45a	3 rd Guru	756
16.	Mahalu 3	47a	3 rd Guru	753
17.	Mahalu 3 teeja	49a	3 rd Guru	754
18.	Gulaamu	53b	x	x
19.	Gulaamu	54a	x	x
20.	Sada Sewaku	54b	x	x
	(Gulaam has been deleted and replaced by Sada Sewaku)			
21.	Gulaamu	55a	x	x
22.	Kameeru Nam	55b	x	x
	Bhagat Ki bani (The hymn is by Bhagat Kabir)			
23.	Faridu	56b	No information about the writer	794
24.	RaviDaasu	57a	Bani Sree RaviDaas jeeo ki	793
25.	RaviDaasu	57b	No information about the writer	794
26.	RaviDaasu	58a	No information about the writer	793
	(Some other name has been deleted and replaced by RaviDaasu)			
27.	Bebe di	62b	1 st Guru	1327
28.	Mahal 1	63b	1 st Guru	1327
29.	1	70a	1 st Guru	1330

30.	Meahalu 3	76b	3 rd Guru	1332
31.	Mah 3	77a	3 rd Guru	1333
32.	Mahalu 3	78a	3 rd Guru	1333
33.	Mahalu3	79a	3 rd Guru	1333
34.	Mahalu 3	79b	3 rd Guru	1334
35.	Mahalu 3	79b	3 rd Guru	1334
36.	Mahalu 3	100b	3 rd Guru	1346
37.	Gulaamu	102a	x	
38.	Gulaamu	102b	x	
39.	Kabaru Namdeo (The hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	104b	Kabir jeeo	793
40.	Kameeru	105b	Bani Bhagat Kabir ji ki	1349
41.	Kabaru Nama (The hymn is by Bhagat Namdev)	106a	Bani Bhagat Namdev ji ki	1350
42.	Kameer Nama	107a	No information about the writer	1349
43.	Kabiru	108b	No information about the writer	1350
44.	Kabiru Naama (The hymn is by Bhagat Namdev)	109b	No information about the writer	1351
45.	Kabaru Naam (The hymn is by Bhagat Namdev)	110a	No information about the writer	1351
46.	Kameeru Nama Bhagat (The hymn is	111a	Bani by Bhagat	1351 Beni Ji

By Bhagat Beni Ji)				
47.	Kabiru Nama (The hymn is by Bhagat Kabir Ji)	112a	No information about the writer	1350
48.	Mahalu 3	126 b	3 rd Guru	666
49.	Mahal Chauth 4	127b	x	
50.	Mahalu 3	128 a	3 rd Guru	663
51.	Mahal 3	129a	3 rd Guru	664
52.	Mahalu 3	130a	3 rd Guru	664
53.	Mahau 3	130b	3 rd Guru Teeja	664
54.	Mahalu 3	131b	3 rd Guru	665
55.	Mahalu 3	132a	3 rd Guru	665
56.	Mahalu 3	133a	3 rd Guru	665
57.	Mahalu 3	134a	3 rd Guru	666
58.	Mahala Pajva 5	136b	4 th Guru	670
59.	Mahal 1	138b	1 st Guru	687
60.	Mahal 1	140a	1 st Guru	688
61.	Pehal (Mahala) 1	142b	1 st Guru	689
62.	Sada Sewaku (Gulaam has been deleted and replaced by Sada Sewaku)	149b	x	
63.	Kameeru Name ki bani (This hymn is by RaviDaas Ji	151b	(Dhanaasree by Bhagat RaviDaas Ji	694
64.	Aarati RaviDaas di	158b	No information about the writer	694

65.	Babe paatisah da	168b	1 st Guru	1168
66.	Mah 3	175b	3 rd Guru	1172
67.	Mahalu 3	176a	3 rd Guru	1176
68.	Mahalu 3	177a	3 rd Guru	1176
69.	Mahala 4	177a	3 rd Guru	1172
70.	Mahala 4	178a	1 st Guru	1169
71.	Mahal 4	180a	1 st Guru	1170
72.	Mahal 4	181a	1 st Guru	1170
73.	Mahalu 4	183b	3 rd Guru	1176
74.	Mahalu 3	184a	3 rd Guru	1176
75.	Mahalu 3	185a	3 rd Guru	1177
76.	Mahalu 3	185b	3 rd Guru	1177
77.	Mahalu 3	186a	3 rd Guru	1172
78.	Mahalu 3	187a	3 rd Guru	1173
79.	Mahalu 3	188a	3 rd Guru	1173
80.	Mahalu 3	189a	3 rd Guru	1173
81.	Mahalu 3	189b	3 rd Guru	1174
82.	Mahal 3	190b	3 rd Guru	1174
83.	Mahalu 3	191b	3 rd Guru	1174
84.	Mahalu 3	192a	3 rd Guru	1175
85.	Mahalu 3	193a	3 rd Guru	1175
86.	Mahalu 3	194a	3 rd Guru	1175
87.	Baabe deeya	196b	1 st Guru	1190
88.	Mahal 4	199a	1 st Guru	1187
89	Sada Sewak (Sada sewak has been written after deletion Gulaam)	206a	x	x

90.	Sada Sewaku (Sada Sewaku has been written after deleting Gulaam)	206b	x	x
91.	Raamanand	208b	Raamanand Ji	1195
92.	Bani Kabir Naame ki poori (The verse is by Bhagat Kabir ji)	216b	Bani by Bhagats. Kabir ji.	1193
93.	Kameeru nam (The hymn is by Bhagat Kabir)	217a	No information about the writer	1193
94.	Kabri Nama	217b	No information about the writer.	1195
95.	Kabiru Nama Bhagat (The verse Is by Bhagat Namdev).	218a	Bani by Naamdeo ji	1195
96.	Kabiru Nama (The verse is by Namdev)	218b	No information about the writer.	1195
97.	Kabiru Nam (The verse is by Bhagat RaviDaas)	219a	Bani by RaviDaas Ji	1196
98.	Kabiru Nama (This hymn is by Bhagat Kabir)	220a	No information about the writer	1194
99.	Kabiru Nama Bhagat (This hymn is by	220b	No information about the writer	1194

	Bhagat Kabir)			
100	Kameeru Nama	221b	x	x
	(This hymn is by Bhagat Namdev)			
101	Mahal 2	222b	1 st Guru	1125
102.	Mahala 3	223a	3 rd Guru	1128
103.	Mahala 3	223b	3 rd Guru	1128
104.	Mahala 3	224a	3 rd Guru	1128
105.	Mahala 3	224b	3 rd Guru	1128
106	Mahala 3	225a	3 rd Guru	1128
107	Mahala 3	231b	3 rd Guru	1129
108.	Mahalu 3	232a	3 rd Guru	1129
109.	Mahalu 3	232b	3 rd Guru	1129
110.	Mahalu 3	233a	3 rd Guru	1129
111.	Mahalu 3	233a/b	3 rd Guru	1129
112.	Mahalu 3	234a	3 rd Guru	1130
113.	Mahalu 3	234b	3 rd Guru	1130
114.	Mahalu 3	235b	3 rd Guru	1130
115.	Mahalu 3	236a/b	3 rd Guru	1131
116.	Mahalu 3	237a	3 rd Guru	1131
117.	Mahalu 3	238a	3 rd Guru	1131
118.	Mahalu 3	238b	3 rd Guru	1132
119.	Mahalu 3	239a	3 rd Guru	1132
120.	Mahalu 3	240a	3 rd Guru	1132
121.	Mahal3	244a	3 rd Guru	1155
122.	Mahalu 3	245b	3 rd Guru	1154
123.	Mahalu 3	247b	3 rd Guru	1133
124.	Sada Sewaku	250a	x	x
	(Gulaam has been Deleted and			

	Replaced by Sada Sewak)			
125.	Sada Sewaku	250a	x	x
126.	Sada Sewaku	250b/251a	x	x
127.	Kameeru Nama (The hymn is by Bhagat Kabir)	252a	No information about the writer.	1159
128.	Kameeru (The hymn is by Bhagat Namdev)	(252b)	Bani of Namdeo jeeo.	1163
129.	Kameeru (The hymn is by Bhagat Kabir)	253a	No information about the writer.	1158
130.	Kabiru Naama (The hymn is by Bhagat Kebeer	253b	No information about the writer.	1163
131.	Kameeru Nama Bhagat Baabe de	254b	Namdeo Jee	1164
132.	Kameeru Nam Bhagat (The hymn Is by Bhagat Ravi Daas)	255a	Bani RaviDaas Jee	1167
133.	Kameeru Nama (The hymn is by Bhagat Kabir)	255b	Kabir Jee	1162
134.	Kameeru Nama Bhagat (The hymn is writer By Bhagat Kabir).	257 a	No information about the writer	1158
135.	Kameer Namdeo	257b	No information	1164

	poore Bhagat (The hymn is by Bhagat Namdev)		about the writer	
136.	Kameeru Nama 258a Bhagat Baabe de (The hymn is by Bhagat Namdev)	No information about	1165 about the writer	
137.	Kabiru Nama 258b Babe de Bhagat (The hymn is by Bhagat Kabir)	Bani by Bhagats. Kabir Jeeo	1157	
138.	Kameeru Nama 259a Babe de bhagat (The hymn is by Bhagat Kabir)	No information about the writer	1159	
139.	Kameeru Nama 261a (The hymn is by Bhagat Kabir)	No information about the writer	1158	
140.	Kameerae Name 262a Ki (The hymn is by Bhagat Kabir)	5 th Guru	1160	
141.	Kameerae Name 262b Ki (The hymn is by Bhagat Kabir)	No information	1160 about the writer.	
142.	Sahal (Mahal) 1 268a	1 st Guru	462	
143.	Baabe Patisah Ka 989	272a	1 st Guru	

144.	Baabe da Mahal ³ 993	275b	3 rd Guru
145.	Kameeru Nama 277b Jaedeo (The hymn Is by Bhagat Jaedev)	Bani of Jaedeo	1106
146.	Sada Sewaku Gulaam (Written after deleting Gulaam	278a	x x
147.	Keemari Nama 278b (The hymn is by Bhagat Kabir).	No information about the writer	1104
148.	Kameeru Nama 279a (The hymn is by Bhagat Kabir)	Bani of Kabir jeeo.	1123
149.	Kabiru Naame 279b. ki bani (The hymn is by Bhagat Kabir)	Bani of Kabir jeeo	1102
150.	Kameeru Nama 380a/b Bhagat (The hymn is By Bhagat Kabir)	No information about the writer.	1103
151.	Kameeru Nama 281a Bhagta (The hymn is By Bhatat Kabir)	No information about the writer.	1103
152	Kabir Naame 281b ki bani [The hymn is By Bhagat Kabir]	Bani of Kabir jeeo.	1104
153	Kameeru Nama 282a/b poore Bhagat [the hymn is by	No information about the writer.	1104

	Bhagat Kabir]			
154	Kabiru Nama Bhagat ki bani [The hymn is by Bhagat Kabir]	282b	No information about the writer	1123
155	Kameeru Naam Bhagat [The Hymn is by RaviDaas	283a	Bani of RaviDaas jeeo.	1124
156	Kabiru Naam Bhagta Ki Bani [The hymn is by Bhagat Kabeer]	284a	No Information about the writer.	1103
157	Kameeru Naame ki [The hymn is by Bhagat Kabir]	284b	No information about the writer	1123
158	Keemeeru Nama [The hymn is by Bhagat Kabir]	285a	x	x
159	Kabaeeru Nama Bhagta ki Bani the hymn by Bhagaaat Kabir	285b	No information about the writer.	1104
160	Kameeru Nama Baba de Bhagat [The hymn is by Bhagat Kabir	287a	No information about the writer.	1124

161	Guru ka Baabe 287b		The hymn of Kabir	1105
	Patisaah ka		in raag Maaroo.	
	[The hymn is		Bani of Namdeo Ji	
	by Bhagat Namdev]			
162	Baabe Patisaah 288b	x		x
	ke Bhagat			
	[only the title is available]			
163	Babe Patemah 294b		Is Guru	721
164	Babe Partisaah 295a		Is Guru	721
	ka bolna.			
165	Kameeru 300b		Bani of Bhagats;	727
	Naamdeo [The		Kabir ji.	
	Hymn is by			
	Bhagat Kabir]			

**6th Addendum; A book by
Dr Gurinder Singh Maan.**

The book in hand was in the press when a friend of mine named S. Gurbal Singh Bhullar sent me a copy of 'The Goindwal Pothees: the earliest Extant Source of the Sikh Canon,' a new publication of Harvard University in America. Another copy of this book I received through the grace of another friend Dr. Balwant singh from London while he was going from India to America. I had requested both the friends to procure and send to me a copy of the thesis of Dr. Maan for Ph.D. As indicated by the informer, Dr. Maan's thesis contained a discussion regarding the *Pothees* from Goindwal. The book I received was not the thesis of Dr. Maan but it had a direct bearing on the subject of my research and therefore, I was greatly pleased to receive it. I expressed deep

gratitude to my friends but I also felt that I might be obliged to suspend the printing of my book and revise it in the light of the research of Dr. Maan. Fortunately, after a casual glance through the book I found my fears unfounded. Except a slight repetition which cannot be avoided in case of the same subject, I found little common between me and him regarding either the presentation of the material or the conclusions derived therefrom. So, I decided not to hold back the printing of my book. If I had come by this book earlier I would have assessed it in the 7th chapter of my book .” Those who saw the *Pothees* with their eyes”, I would have given appropriate comments at places in other parts to reject or accept the book. But first because the printing my book had already been sufficiently delayed and secondly because the Laser Printer does not find the alterations in the the proofs likeable, Therefore, it was deemed proper that instead of entering into a long discussion I should give the main points of Dr. Maan’s research in a separate addendum. Complete acquaintance with the stages through which Dr. Maan and I have reached our respective conclusion can be attained only after the study of both the books; but the reader of my book should know that a new research book on this topic has reached the market. He should also know what Dr. Maan has discovered after this long investigation.

Dr. Maan has made a mention of me in 41st note [page.148] of his research book but his concluding sentence has made me feel like saying something about it. I have already stated that I have not been able to obtain the photo copies of all the leaves of the “*Pothee*”. Not to speak of any thing else I have not been able to get permission of even scrutinizing the two available *Pothees* for the research of the book in hand. That is why I have based my research on the photocopies which I procured from the Punjabi University, Patiala. As such I was in great haste that I should get all the photos of the original *Pothee* or have an

opportunity of exchanging information with a scholar who has already scanned them. As I learnt that a person named Gurinder Singh residing in America was making the *Pothees* from Goindwal the subject of his research I started my efforts to establish contact with him. Finding his address I wrote a letter to him that I too had landed in the court of the *Pothee* and that I was desirous of exchanging information and views with him. When I got tired of waiting for the reply, I posted another letter but this time too I felt disappointed at not receiving a reply. After some time I learnt that Dr. Satinder Singh Noor of Delhi University had returned from America after participating in a Seminar at the invitation of Dr Maan, When I talked to him I saw in his response the friendship of Dr. Maan. He promised to write a letter to him. After a passage of sufficient time when I met him I learnt that his letter too had failed to evince a reply. The time went on passing but it did not put an end to my desire. Suddenly, I learnt that Dr. Jaswant Singh Neki also counted Dr. Maan among his friends. I repeated the whole narration to him also, He was confident that he would get a reply from Gurinder Singh Maan but it did not take him long to realize that no American postal System delivered letters from India to this particular address. I happened to meet Dr. Callewaert, a scholarly friend from Belgium. During conversation I learnt that he was on corresponding terms with Dr. Maan. I informed him also of my needs. He said that exchange of views and documents on common problems was customary among the Western scholars, that he had to fetch certain things from Dr. Maan for his own use and that I could make use of the things if found useful. After some time Dr. Callewaert expressed regret for not sending the material provided by Dr. Maan because Dr. Mann did not want that material sent by him should be passed on to Pritam Singh. After the receipt of this reply my uneasiness came to an end. In the meanwhile Dr. Maan came to participate in a conference at the Punjabi University

but he could not spare time from his occupations to see me. After this I directed my efforts to procuring a copy of his thesis instead of establishing any contact with him. But I learnt that the university had decided not to subject his thesis to any type of exposure for two years. Now justice demands that in the next edition of his book Dr. Maan writes “Pritam Singh’s efforts to meet me never materialized” instead of “My efforts to meet him never materialized”, or as an alternative he should expunge this sentence from his book. I have received his message expressing desire to meet me and I am grateful to him for his secret efforts to see me.

Dr. Maan is a young man and his book bears witness that he is one of the young scholars who do not hesitate to delve into the manuscripts. He possesses qualities of search-mindedness and criticism in a good measure and his capability to make a proper use of the language is proven. Therefore, I pray for him in absentia that along with a long life, his capability for research should be enhanced. Whether he wants to maintain a contact with me or not is his own job. It is none of my business to challenge this right of his or protest against it. But the first reaction which the study of this book has produced in me is that if I had come in contact with Dr. Maan earlier, both the sides were expected to gain. He might have gained or not, but I must have gained. For example in my book in the chapter of deletions I have written that “the writer of the *Pothee* does not go on strike”. But from Dr. Maan’s book I have come to know that the strike has been resorted to. This information has added to my knowledge and I am grateful to Dr. Maan for it.

Now I am equipped with everything to know whether or not Dr. Maan had to conceal anything from me. In this addendum I do not want to resort to any investigative criticism about his research. At the maximum I want to annex my conclusions with the main conclusions

arrived at by Dr. Maan so that the scholarly readers realize why I did not interrupt the printing of my book

S.No.	Dr. Maan's conclusions	My conclusions.
1.	<p>The Pothees had been written at the time of Guru Amar Daas Ji. At one place there are hints to suggest Amar Daas Ji had expired.</p> <p>that Guru Amar Daas Ji had a direct hand in the preparation of the getting it <i>Pothee</i>. "By placing these raagas at the opening of Goindwal Pothees Guru Amar Daas may have been attending to"..... [Note 74, page 154].</p>	<p>The <i>Pothee</i> from Ahiyapur was written after Guru Daas Ji had expired. Therefore, there is no question of his writing it or getting it written under his own supervision</p> <p>"By placing these raagas at the opening of Goindwal Pothees Guru Amar Daas may have been attending to"..... [Note 74, page 154].</p>
2.	<p>The verses of a writer named Gulaam or Sada sewak exist in the <i>Pothee</i>.</p> <p>deleting Ghulam Sewak</p>	<p>No verse of a writer of this name exists In the <i>Pothee</i>. After or otherwise Sads is no doubt written there.</p>
3.	<p>All the verses written under the titles Gulaam Sada Sewak in the <i>Pothee</i> and</p>	<p>The verses available under the titles of Gulaam/Sada Sewak</p>

de-	Is the writing of Bhai	using Naanik as Nom-
	Jetha [later on Guru Raam Daas]	plume is not the writing of Bhai Jetha/
4.	The <i>Pothees</i> from Goindwal lying in Front of him, Guru Arjan Dev Ji had Little work to do In the preparation of	I have dedicated this writing of mine to Guru Arjan dev Ji considering him to be the chief Editor. He had not made the use of the <i>Pothee</i>
from	Aad Beed.	Ahiyapur.
5.	The <i>Pothee</i> from Ahiyapur	The <i>Pothee</i> from
	was one of the basic books for the preparation of the Aad Beed by Sree Guru Arjan Dev Ji.	is not the basis or the source of the Aad Beed prepared by Sree Guru Arjan Dev Ji.
6.	In the hymn “ Mohan tere Ooche mandar” Guru Arjan Dev Ji is Addressing Baba Mohan, the son of Guru Amar Daas Ji also.	This hymn is addressed neither to Baba Mohan singly nor to the Almighty + Mohan Ji.

The new research by Dr. Gurinder Singh which is full of scholarship and which has dazed the scholars of the West has not obliged me to change the conclusion which I derived. How can I not regret my blunt sense born in the East?

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List of Indian words used in the text and the foot notes.

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| 1. Aad Beed | : The collection of the bani of the first five Gurus and the Bhagats, Compiled by Guru Arjan Dev. |
| 2. Aarsi | : Name of a Punjabi Monthly Magazine. |
| 3. Aasa Di Vaar | : A long composition in verse by Guru Nanak Dev ji. |

4. Apbhransh : A stage in the development of North Indian Languages prior to the modern North Indian Languages.
5. Ast [Asht] : Eight.
6. Astpadi : A poetic form consisting of stanza of 8 lines each.
7. Baba : Father. Used for any venerable old man.
8. Bani : Composition.
9. Bani : An account of lineology; name of an ancient
Nama Punjabi historical book.
10. Bebe : Mother; a deformation of Baba.
11. Beed : A collection in book form.
12. Bhaadon : The name of 6th month in the
[Bhaadron] Calendar of India.
13. Bhagati : Meditation; name of a Religious Movement in Medieval India.
14. Bhalla : Name of a Khatri sub-caste.
15. Bhai : Brother; used for any venerable Sikh.
16. Bikrami : Name of an Indian Calendar started after the name of an ancient Indian king named Bikramaditya.
17. Bilaas : An account of life.

18. Chamatkar	: Miracle;
19. Chheveen	: 6 th
20. Gaatha	: Narration..
21. Granth	: A book [with a religious connotation]
22. Gur [Guru]	: A Master or a Teacher [with a religious connotation].
23. Gurmukhi	: Name of the script used for Punjabi Language except in Pakistan.
25. Gurpartap	:
Sooraj Granth:	Name of the encyclopaedia prepared by Kahan Singh Nabha.
26. Gutka	: A Booklet.
27. Gyani	: A knowledgeable person.
28. Imabara	: A building at Lucknow with turns and twists where one is likely to be lost.
29. Janam Sakhi	: A book containing biographical narration.
30. Ji	: Part of an address to show respect.
31. Juz [Juzv]	: A part.
32. Kosh	: A treasure; used for any collection.
33. Magh	: 11 th month of the Bikrami Calendar.
34. Mahaan	: Great.

35. Maal [Maala]	: A rosary.
36. Meena	: A buffalo or an ox with curved horns ; a hypocrite.
37. Mehma	: Eulogy.
38. Mehama	:
Prakash	: Name of an ancient Punjabi historical work.
39. Parakh	: Scrutiny; name of the Journal of the Punjab University.
40. Paatshah	: A king; a form of Arabic Baadshah.
41. Patthi	: Poetic form in which lines poetry are started according to an alphabet.
42. Pothee	: A book or a scripture.
43. Poora	: Complete or perfect.
44. Prakrit	: A form of Language in the evolution from Sanskrit to Modern Indian Languages
45. Raag	: A musical pattern.
46. Rabaab	: An Indian stringed musical instrument.
47. Rahao	: Pause; usually used after the refrain in the hymns of the Sikh bani.
48. Rattan	: A rosary of jewels.
Maala or {Ratnavali]	

49. Sahib	: Originally an Arabic word; used as a part of address out of respect.
50. Sakhi	: An anecdote.
51. Sadd	: A call; title of a verse composition in Sree Guru Granth Sahib.
52. Sammat	: A year of Bikrami Calendar.,
53. Sarvaangi	: Collection of the verse of different poets in ancient Rajasthan.
54. Satgur	: A true Master.
55. Shabdarth	: A book consisting of 4 volumes and giving meanings of the words in Sree Guru Granth Sahib.
56. Shudh	: Correct.
57. Shudh Keeche.	: Corrected.
58. Sidh Goshti	: Title of a long verse composition by Sree Guru Nanak
59. Sikh	: A Punjabi form of Sanskrit Shishya meaning a pupil.
60. Sinhavlokan	: Admixture of two meters in ancient India poetics.
61. Sodhi	: A Khatri sub-caste.
62. Vaar	: A balland-like long verse composition in Indin poetics.
63. Waesaakh	: 2 nd month of the Bikrami year.
64.Wadi	: Waning of the moon.

65. Yagya : Raising of holy fire accompanied by recitaion of mantras.